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**Attending to the Needs of Inuit Inmates in Canada:  
Exploring the Perceptions of Correctional Officers and Nunavut Officials**

By

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B.A. (Honours), Criminology,

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THESIS

Submitted to the Department of Criminology  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for  
Master of Arts in Criminology

Wilfrid Laurier University

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## **Abstract**

On March 10, 2015, the Office of the Auditor General of Canada released a performance audit concluding that the Nunavut Department of Justice did not adequately plan for and operate facilities to house inmates and did not adequately manage inmates in compliance with key rehabilitation and reintegration requirements. Given the room for improvement and my prior experience working with Nunavut Corrections, I embarked on a qualitative research project that sought to interview inmates in Nunavut Corrections about their perceptions of rehabilitation programs offered in Makigiarvik Healing Facility. Although university ethics approval was received for the research, I encountered resistance when I tried to attain ethics approval from the Nunavut Research Institute, and access to inmates was denied. Instead, the research came to focus on correctional officers' perceptions of rehabilitation and reintegration programs offered by Nunavut Corrections. In January 2018, I spent two weeks in Nunavut where I: engaged in participant observation; conducted in-depth, semi-structured interviews with seven correctional officers; and engaged in conversations with three Nunavut officials. My findings explore: participants' perceptions of the inmates; whether, how, and to what extent the participants feel the programs meet the needs of Inuit inmates; and participants' recommendations for how to address deficiencies within Nunavut Corrections. The analysis addresses: the lack of training for correctional staff; the paucity of research on rehabilitation programs; the disconnect between staff and organizational leaders; cultural and generational differences that exist among Inuit that have implications for rehabilitation programming; and the importance of considering the Risk Need Assessment (RNR) model for improving rehabilitative programming in Nunavut Corrections.

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## **Chapter One: Introduction**

On March 10, 2015, the Office of the Auditor General of Canada (2015) released a performance audit that focused on whether the Nunavut Department of Justice was meeting its key responsibilities for inmates within the corrections system. The purpose of this audit was to see whether the Department of Justice 1) adequately planned for and operated facilities to house inmates, and 2) adequately managed inmates in compliance with key rehabilitation and reintegration requirements. The audit concluded that the Nunavut Department of Justice did not adequately plan for and operate facilities to house inmates, and did not adequately manage inmates in compliance with key rehabilitation and reintegration requirements. Facility management and inmate case management were identified as serious deficiencies (*ibid*). Built in 1986, Baffin Correctional Centre (BCC) in Nunavut's capital, Iqaluit, is the main intake facility for male inmates in the territory and holds minimum-, medium-, and maximum-security inmates and those in remand (Government of Nunavut, 2017). With Makigiarvik Healing Facility coming into operation in 2015, located beside BCC, the Auditor General's audit indicated that the new facility would provide some relief from overcrowding, but it would not provide space for maximum-security inmates – a need that the audit explains has not been met by Nunavut Corrections. Although reports starting from 1996 have stated that BCC has been unable to house maximum security inmates, it still remains the only male facility in Nunavut to house such inmates (Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2015; Office of the Correctional Investigator of Canada, 2013).

The Office of the Correctional Investigator of Canada (2013) and the Office of the Auditor General of Canada (2015) identified concerns around numerous institutional inadequacies at BCC. These inadequacies relate to safety concerns and, more specifically, matters of security and



health. Lack of basic security requirements around contraband and failed fire inspections, along with the inability to separate inmates of different security levels (including inmates on remand) were noted. Concerns about health included housing of inmates in the gymnasium, building deficiencies such as holes in the walls, inability to properly disinfect cells, toilets, and showers, the presence of mould and poor air quality, and non-compliance with the National Fire Code. The reports also mentioned that lack of programming space was a concern.

Given these multiple concerns, the aim of Makigiarvik “was to lessen strain on Nunavut’s correctional system until the Baffin Correctional Centre could be thoroughly upgraded and a new permanent maximum-security facility could be built in Iqaluit” (Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2015, p. 7). Makigiarvik also represented a positive development as it opened with a dedication to rehabilitate inmates through programs, with the introduction of the carving program being used as the leading example (Sponagle, 2016). The facility was also to provide specialized mental health programming but there is no indication as to the details of those programs (Auditor General of Canada, 2015). It was built as a minimum-security level facility with an intent to hold 48 minimum-security inmates and those with mental health needs.

Shortly after the opening of Makigiarvik in February of 2015, the upgrades at BCC began (Weber, 2015). Additionally, pending the approval from the Treasury Board of Canada, there is a \$76-million price tag project to replace Baffin Correctional Centre by 2021 with a much larger facility, rebranded as the Qikiqtani Correctional Healing Facility (QCHF) which will also include outbuildings (CBC News, 2017; Skura, 2016). However, QCHF is already said to be delayed because of construction contract problems (Murray, 2018b). The goal of QCHF is to improve programming and to increase reintegration into the community (CBC News, 2017). Although specifics about program improvements have not been announced, Chris Stewart,

manager of capital and special projects for Nunavut's Justice Department at the time, spoke to the media about the importance of Inuit-specific programming, "We recognize that inmates serving their sentences outside of the territory have very little access to culturally appropriate programming, access to family and support groups that are going to be so vital to them once they are released" (CBC News, 2017). This research provides insights that have the potential to be helpful in informing how rehabilitation programming is ultimately developed and introduced with the opening of Qikiqtani Correctional Healing Facility.

The research initially intended to explore Inuit inmates' perceptions of the rehabilitation programs within Makigiavik to see to what extent the inmates felt the programs met their needs. Makigiavik was chosen because it opened with a promise to rehabilitate inmates and because no research had been done there. I wanted to explore the perceptions of inmates to address two gaps in the literature – the lack of qualitative research that foregrounds the perspectives of Inuit inmates, and the paucity of research on rehabilitation programming for them. Instead, the research came to focus on correctional officers' and Nunavut officials' perceptions of rehabilitation and reintegration programs offered by Nunavut Corrections. In January 2018, I spent two weeks in Nunavut where I: engaged in participant observation; conducted in-depth, semi-structured interviews with seven correctional officers and three Nunavut officials. My findings explore: participants' perceptions of the inmates; whether, how, and to what extent the participants feel the programs meet the needs of Inuit inmates; and participants' recommendations for how to address deficiencies within Nunavut Corrections. Furthermore, with the planned opening of QCHF, my research has the potential to provide new insights that can be used to inform the development, implementation, and evaluation of programming for Inuit inmates – programming that best addresses their needs.

### Impetus for My Study

My line of inquiry is inspired by my past personal experience living in the far north. I spent 2 years living in Iqaluit, Nunavut while working as a correctional officer at Baffin Correctional Centre and in a dual position as correctional officer and case worker at Makigiavik. I did not have any previous experience working in Corrections nor any experience living and interacting with individuals from Inuit populations. The only correctional and Indigenous knowledge I carried with me was what I learned as a student during my undergraduate studies. I had absolutely no accurate idea of what I was walking into when the control officer opened the secure door to let me walk on the “floor” for my first shadow shift. As I followed the Correctional Officer (CO) as instructed for 12 hours that day, I felt like I had discovered a new world. This world was unlike any world represented in the books I had read or in the countless dreams I had leading up to that much-anticipated day. My excitement to start a career in corrections instantly turned into a struggle for emotional and physical survival – in my first month in uniform, the inmates threatened me, told me to go back to my country, spit on me, and threw hot coffee in my face. I found myself questioning many aspects of Nunavut Corrections, including the lack of programming that was provided, but I kept my thoughts to myself as I waited to explore more about this new and unlearned world. The other world, the outside world in the city of Iqaluit, mesmerized me equally. When looking at the distance and sky, I felt like I was an astronaut on a new planet. When observing the city, I felt like a heightened criminologist, questioning every interaction and observation. I became disturbed, but yet interested with the criminogenic environment that surrounded me. I witnessed a young Inuk man slap a baby off a woman’s amauti, a parka worn by Inuit women with a built-in baby pouch just below the hood. I found out that the Inuk man at the bar with a stitched up deformed face had shot himself in the

head with a shotgun. I heard young Inuk and white men talk about selling and buying cocaine. I asked myself: How much of this criminogenic environment can be attributed to colonization? Why is it that everyone I talk to has at least one family member who has committed suicide? Why does everyone drink so much alcohol? Why are there so many more non-Inuit people living here than I imagined? These, and many more questions I asked on a daily basis. While working in what is regarded by many as Canada's most decrepit and dangerous prison for staff and inmates (Morton, 2014; Weber, 2015), I began to combine these two worlds – the prison and the city – and things became a little clearer. Aside from the abuse I endured from the inmates, some inmates shared stories with me which gave me insights to the struggles Inuit men face on a recently modernized land. Although I felt like I helped the best I could have within the limits of my position, I knew that if I wanted to contribute to Nunavut Corrections more generally, I would need to find a new approach. This Master's thesis provides such an opportunity.

## **Chapter Two: Literature Review**

### **Overrepresentation of Inuit Inmates**

There is substantial evidence that shows that Nunavut's Inuit inmate population are a group within Canada's Indigenous peoples who have been, and continue to be, grossly overrepresented in crime rates and prison populations (Ferrazi & Kruppa, 2016; Green 1998; Macdoland, 2016; Office of the Correctional Investigator, 2009; Ross, 1996). Criminologists have even begun referring to Canada's prisons and jails as the country's new residential schools (Macdonald, 2016). Statistics Canada (2015a) shows that as of 2014, Indigenous adults comprise approximately 24% of Canada's provincial/territorial prison population and 20% of the federal inmate population, while Indigenous adults as a whole represent only 3% of the country's adult population. Stewart et al. (2009) explain that for Inuit offenders who are incarcerated, the proportions are comparable. For example, in 2006, Inuit accounted for about 1% of the federal inmate population while Inuit adults as a whole represented 0.2% of the Canadian population.

### **Overrepresentation and Colonization**

Some research suggests that this overrepresentation of Indigenous populations in the judicial system can be attributed to colonization (Ford & Beaumier, 2011; Green, 1998; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1994; Searles, 2002; Wenzel, 1991;). The implementation of wildlife regulations, transportation improvements to the North, importation of food through flights, and economic development (wage labour) allowed for non-Inuit to migrate into Nunavut (Ford & Beaumier, 2011; Green, 1988), and to impose their ways of life on Inuit peoples and their culture. In this new post-colonial era, Inuit were forced to no longer simply hunt and live off the land. They were made to adhere to the norms of colonizers by attaining a traditional job (in the Westernized sense) as a new means of living. An example of this explanation is

surrounded by the activities that revolve around the acquisition and consumption of food. Relocation programs and hunting regulations made it difficult for Inuit to hunt, a practice that was an integral part of Inuit culture as it taught responsibility and cooperation (Wenzel, 1991). Hunting also allowed the community to gather and engage in activities during consumption (*ibid*). The literature explains that colonization has changed the way Inuit live and because of this, Inuit are caught in a life between tradition and modernity which has damaged certain traditions. (Sorensen, 2001; Wenzel, 1991). Searles's (2006; 2008; 2010) anthropological fieldwork in southern Baffin Island in the mid 1990s and 2000s offers insight into this life that is caught between tradition and modernity by exploring Inuit identity. Many Inuit believe that hunting and living off the land creates intelligent and moral persons and is tied to the "real" authentic Inuit as it helps develop *isuma* (reason) by facing the elements of sea, snow, ice, and wind (Rasing, 1999; Searles, 2002). In outpost camps and modernized cities like Iqaluit, Inuit are attempting to keep their authenticity alive:

Despite adopting various features of modern life and southern culture, many Inuit continue to live according to traditional values that arise out of their own rich cultural heritage. ... Many Inuit continue to have close ties to the land and consider their relationship to the land to be essential to their culture and to their survival as distinct people (Pauktutiit, 2006, p. 4).

However, according to Searles (2010), in modernized areas of Nunavut, such as Iqaluit, Inuit explain that as much as individuals try to live to Inuit traditions, it is impossible to be an authentic Inuit. Searles (2010) states, "if being on the land is a kind of utopia, then being in Iqaluit symbolizes a dystopia" (p. 153). Many Inuit go so far as to say that even individuals living in outpost camps do not resemble the authentic Inuit as they rely on snowmobiles, oil-burning stoves, generators, and kerosene lamps, and can only resemble the authentic Inuit if they trade their snowmobiles for dog teams, their kerosene

lamps for stone lamps fueled by seal blubber, and their rifles for hand-made harpoons and knives (*ibid*). In exploring the effects of colonization, there is much additional discussion in the literature about how the change in culture within Inuit communities has created alienation, loss of identity, and role confusion which are all used to explain criminal activity (Anderson et al., 2012; Burkhardt, 2000; Monture-Angus, 1996; Searles, 2010). These explanations have led to a focus on mental health abnormalities as being a significant problem for Inuit and the central problem for Inuit inmates. As such, much of the literature on Inuit has come from scholars in the areas of psychology and mental health.

### Mental Health Studies of Inuit

There has been a significant rise in recent years in discussions about the mental health of Inuit (Ferrazzi & Krupa, 2016; Kielland & Simeone, 2014; Kirmayer & Valaskakis, 2009; Lehti et al., 2009) and many scholars who engage in Inuit studies are from the psychology and mental health disciplines (Bjorksten et al., 2005; Burkhardt, 2004; Ferrazzi & Krupa, 2016; Kral et al., 2009; Lehti et al., 2009; Waldram, 2014;). These discussions are often dominated by the phenomenon of suicide rates, with many writers expressing that suicide in the Canadian Arctic has reached an epidemic level. The region of Nunavut is noted as having one of the highest suicide rates globally (Tester & McNicoll, 2004; Kral et al., 2011; Mental Health Commission of Canada, 2012; Morris & Crooks, 2015). Arboleda-Florez (2009) discusses the prevalence of the overrepresentation of people with mental health problems in the justice system across many countries. Konrad (2002) goes so far as to refer to prisons as the new mental health asylums. In Canada, people with mental health problems in general represent a disproportionately high number of those arrested, prosecuted and imprisoned (Ferrazzi & Krupa, 2016; Mental Health Commission of Canada, 2012; Office of the Correctional Investigator, 2010; Ogloff, 2002). This

concern is heightened among Inuit inmates as Inuit in general are overrepresented with respect to mental health problems – which are often linked to suicide rates (Ferrazzi & Krupa, 2016; Kielland & Simeone, 2014; Kirmayer & Valaskakis, 2009; Lehti et al., 2009).

The Mental Health Commission of Canada (2012) discusses the lack of resources for Indigenous populations and the need for “culturally safe mental health services, treatments, and supports to be delivered through a collaboration of mainstream and First Nations, Inuit, and Metis organizations” (p. 96). When addressing mental health problems within the justice system, The Mental Health Commission of Canada (2012) also states that although efforts have been made to be more responsive to Indigenous populations, there is still a need for improved access to diversion programs, mental health services in correctional centres, and supports for re-integration into the community (p. 106). In sum, the Mental Health Commission of Canada has called for culturally-specific programs that directly address mental health problems.

#### Indigenous Rehabilitation Strategies

There is a consensus in the literature that culturally sensitive facilities and programs are mandatory for the rehabilitation of Indigenous offenders, as mainstream correctional facilities and programs have been suggested as being ineffective towards these populations (Office of the Correctional Investigator, 2009; Ross, 1996; Schiff & Moore, 2006; Stewart et al., 2009; Stewart et al., 2015; Trevethan et al., 2004b; Usher & Stewart 2014; Waldram, 2014). With this recognition repeatedly raised by scholars and Indigenous peoples, the Corrections and Conditional Release Act (CCRA) put in a motion to strengthen the relationship between CSC and Indigenous communities in 1992 (Correctional Service Canada, 2016). Sections 81 and 84 of the CCRA were implemented that year to 1) legally allow Indigenous communities to oversee the care and custody of Indigenous inmates, and 2) legally allow Indigenous communities to be



involved in planning for the inmates' release back into the community (Corrections and Conditional Release Act, 2016, p. 42-44; Troian, 2017). With this initiative, healing lodges began to be introduced in 1995 in order to "provide a structured living environment that incorporates Aboriginal spirituality and traditions in its operations and innervations. In Healing Lodges, the needs of offenders are addressed through Aboriginal teachings, traditions, and ceremonies, and contact with Elders and the community" (Correctional Service Canada, 2011, p. 3). There are 9 healing lodges in Canada, four of which are federally operated by CSC and five operated by Indigenous communities under Section 81 of the CCRA. Besides government reports (Correctional Service Canada, 2011; Office of the Correctional Investigator, 2009; Sapers, 2012; Trevethan et al., 2002), there is very little literature on Aboriginal healing lodges in Canada. Nielsen (2003) made the case that the healing lodge model in Canada is worth considering in the United States as it has shown to be effective. In 2015, Nielsen (2016) revisited the model with two questions in mind: 1) are the healing lodges in Canada still going strong? and 2) is the model still worth implementing in the United States? He concluded that the model is not going strong and the policy path followed in Canada is no longer worth implementing in the United States. Government reports suggest that Healing Lodges require massive improvements, including increasing the number of lodges across the country. With respect to Inuit offenders, there is not a single Healing Lodge dedicated to this Indigenous group. Trevethan et al. (2004b) explain that many Inuit inmates are provided with programs that include practices and beliefs that are foreign to their Inuit culture and way of life; "although there are sweat lodges, sweet grass ceremonies, Elders, and healing programs, these programs and services are based upon, or only include, First Nation culture, and do not take into consideration the unique cultural differences between Canada's Aboriginal populations" (*Ibid*, p. 10).

## Culturally Sensitive Programming for Inuit

Inuit offenders are in a unique, and very difficult situation. There are no Inuit-specific programs available for them within the institutions and their limited knowledge and understanding of either official language of Canada prevents them from participating in other programs that are available. Incarceration requires the Inuit to adapt to a situation that is difficult for any offender, but which is completely foreign to their experience. They must learn to live within a closed environment, in a different climate, hearing a strange language and eating unfamiliar foods. Contact with their families is very difficult to maintain, and is thus usually non-existent.

- Solicitor General of Canada, 1988

This excerpt, from a report of the Task Force on Aboriginal Peoples in Federal Corrections, illustrates the call for greater attention to be paid to the uniqueness of Inuit inmates. Notwithstanding this call for culturally sensitive programming, almost 30 years after the report was released, only one Inuit-specific correctional model in Canada has been implemented and that is the Tupiq program located at Fenbrook Institution in Beaver Creek Ontario. The Tupiq program takes into consideration the uniqueness of Inuit inmates as it makes an effort to understand the cultural differences among Canada's Indigenous populations. The name itself, "tupiq", means "tent" in Inuktitut. It was chosen by federal Inuit offenders to represent the traditional Inuit seal skin tent, known for its strength and adaptability meant to protect against the elements, symbolic of the holistic nature of the program (Hamilton, 2002). The Tupiq program is a culturally-specific program for Inuit sex offenders that incorporates cognitive behavioural methods with traditional Inuit knowledge and culture led by Inuit healers and facilitators (Stewart et al., 2015).

Tupiq participants share many common characteristics and backgrounds, and cope with significant problems that contribute to criminal recidivism and pose barriers to reintegration (Stewart et al., 2009; Trevethan et al., 2004a). "They have high rates of unemployment, low educational achievement, significant substance abuse problems and substantial histories in

criminality. In addition to current and prior sex offences, the majority also admit to high rates of intimate partner violence” (Stewart et al., 2009, p. iii). The vast majority (over 90%) are violent offenders and prior to the Tupiq program, the majority were untreated for crimes of sexual offences, with substance abuse being present in over 90% of the crimes (Hamilton, 2002).

Using quantitative (Stewart et al., 2009; Stewart et al., 2015; Usher & Stewart, 2014) and qualitative (Trevethan et al., 2004a; Trevethan et al., 2004b) methods, there is research to suggest that the Tupiq program is successful. In an early study, Stewart et al. (2009) found success of the program in its high completion rates, positive changes in offender attitude and low reoffending rates for the 11 offenders who had been released in the community at the time. In a later study, when comparing 61 Tupiq participants with a cohort of 114 offenders incarcerated during the same time period who had taken alternative sex offender treatment programs or had not attended any sex offender program, the Tupiq participants were half as likely to reoffend with any type of offence (Stewart et al., (2015). In addition to high completion rates, Trevethan et al. (2004a) found that Tupiq participants have shown a decrease in the need for programming, in particular relating to personal/emotional issues and substance abuse; participants, facilitators and key informants all indicated that they were satisfied with the program (p. 56).

Despite the program’s success, researchers have made a number of recommendations to improve the program design (Stewart et al., 2009; Stewart et al., 2015; Trevethan et al., 2004a). Many recommendations made by Trevethan et al. in 2004 have been addressed. Currently, recommendations that still need to be addressed are surrounded by two themes which complement each other: cost and location. Stewart et al. (2015), state that the program is “substantially more expensive than those associated with the national standardised sex offender program but less expensive than the costs for the national Aboriginal sex offender programs” (p.

1353). Aboriginal sex offender programs tend to be more expensive as the components of it are culturally-specific such as hiring and bringing Inuit facilitators to the facility. One way to assist with the program's cost is to allow more offenders to participate, however, increasing the number of participants can have a negative effect on the impact of the program. A second suggestion is to deliver the program in the North (Stewart et al., 2009; Stewart et al., 2015). In their 2004 report, Trevethan et al. (2004b) discussed how there are many Inuit offenders spread throughout other federal correctional facilities and that "consolidating as many Inuit offenders as possible in one region would make the provision of Inuit-specific programs and services more feasible (p. 45). In addition, Inuit communities have indicated that they welcome the opportunity to play an active role in corrections and rehabilitation initiatives (Stewart et al., 2015). Stewart et al. (2015) argue that developing an Inuit-specific integrated program that will treat offenders with multiple areas of need such as substance abuse, sexual and domestic violence closer to Inuit communities will provide ongoing reintegration after the inmates have graduated from the program and are released back to the community.

#### Perceptions of Correctional Staff

Although there is a body of literature that focuses on the experiences and perceptions of correctional staff who work in the facilities, this research remains relatively limited and is focused on the perceptions of correctional officers with respect to their high rates of job dissatisfaction, job stress, burnout rates, and turnover rates (Armstrong & Griffin, 2004; Lambert & Hogan, 2010; Lambert et al., 2013; Misis et al., 2013; Owen, 2006). There is also some research on the perceptions of Wardens with respect to sexual assault within the facilities (Hensley & Tewkbury, 2005; Moster & Jeglic, 2009) and their high levels of job satisfaction compared to other occupation groups (Cullen et al., 1993; Flanagan et al., 1996). The literature is

very scarce on the perceptions of correctional staff with respect to rehabilitation programs for inmates. Other than Trevethan et al. (2004) who present facilitators' views with regards to the Tupiq program, I cannot find any research pertaining assessments of rehabilitation programs that involve Inuit inmates.

### Chapter Three: Research Methodologies and The Setting

The present study utilized a qualitative research methods approach through participant observation and in-depth, semi-structured interviews to answer the following research questions:

1) How do correctional officers and Nunavut officials understand the programs that are offered in the facilities? That is, what do they perceive to be in place with respect to programming, and what do they generally think about that? 2) How, if at all, do they see the programs with respect to the inclusion of Inuit cultural beliefs and practices? How do they perceive the programs with respect to meeting the needs of inmates? How do they feel programs could be improved?

Engaging in participant observation and interviewing participants helped provide an understanding of the participants' subjective experiences and how they perceive the rehabilitation programming for the Inuit inmates of Nunavut. Qualitative research focuses on understanding the social construction of reality through the methods of ethnography, interviewing, and the use of documents, images, and the Internet in social research (Warren & Karner, 2015, p. vii-viii). Warren and Karner (2015) use the term *interpretive* or *social constructionist* to describe a qualitative perspective that is based on the researcher's knowledge about social life which is based on the participants' standpoint or perspective (p. 4). As Fossey et al. (2002) explain, a good qualitative researcher will illuminate these subjective understandings (p. 717). By directly communicating with correctional officers and Nunavut officials in a formal interview setting *and* interacting with them informally throughout the duration of my stay in Iqaluit, I examined the participants' subjective understandings within their social context in order to gain thorough insights about their perceptions of the rehabilitation programs.

#### Attempting to Gain Access and Emotionality

The research initially intended to explore the perceptions of Inuit inmates in Makigiavik by directly listening to them to see whether, how, and to what extent they felt the rehabilitation programs were meeting their needs. In May of 2017, two months before my proposal defence date, a former colleague was contacted who was a high ranking official within Nunavut Corrections to explain the intent and get information on the application process of gaining access. As can be seen in APPENDIX A, the proposed research was explained, and guidance was sought on how to gain access to conduct the research, and expressed that I was open to changing and discussing the details of the project. The following day, I received a reply informing that he, and another official were both in “full support” of the research and that the email was forwarded to the Director (APPENDIX B). While working on the thesis proposal, contact was maintained with a former colleague but neither of us had heard back from the Director or anyone else in the Department of Justice. The day after my thesis proposal defence, I had a phone conversation with my former colleague who asked to send him a condensed email that he would be showing to the Director of Corrections and a Policy Analyst at a meeting that was scheduled to happen in the next few days. The contents of this email can be seen in APPENDIX C. In addition to explaining the proposed research and how my findings could be assimilated, I asked to directly speak with the Director of Corrections. A week later, I received an email from the official I had been in contact with informing me that the research would not be supported by Nunavut Corrections with the explanation that the Division is “being pulled in multiple directions with various agencies” (APPENDIX D). No contact was made by anyone other than the official I had been in touch with.

Two weeks later, I sent an email to a Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA) of Nunavut informing them of my research and unsuccessful attempt to gain access (APPENDIX

E). I received a prompt reply from the MLA and was told that they would need some time to inquire about the situation. About a month later, the two of us had a phone conversation where the MLA expressed frustration with the situation by making statements such as “there’s something funny going on” and referring the situation as “bullshit.” The day after, I received an email from the MLA (APPENDIX F) stating that they had not been told what the “real reason” was for denying my request, but did hear that there were privacy concerns because the research would require the assistance of staff. As expressed in the email, the MLA was not satisfied with these explanations and sent a direct email to the Minister of Justice at the time, making an argument as to why this research should be approved. This email can also be seen in APPENDIX F. After a few more attempts, the MLA received a response by the Minister who stated that there could be privacy concerns for staff and inmates and that “it would be difficult to task any of [the staff] to devote hours if not days to help a student who is working on a thesis for their personal benefit” (APPENDIX G). As someone who has worked in Makigiarvik before, I was confident that staff would not be required to devote to my research more than a few minutes per shift, and my research protocol ensured that my interviews with inmates would be treated as highly confidential.

The emotional labour that was experienced in trying to gain access to the field was taking its toll on me, and this excerpt by the Minister of Justice, along with the denial by the Director of Corrections, made me realize how little the research meant to some of the officials. The Minister viewed the research as strictly a project for my personal benefit, discarding all the preparation that had gone into contextualizing the proposal, the commitment to seeing the research support Inuit inmates, as well as the willingness to use limited personal funds for travel. In the email from the Minister, it was also explained that ethical approval from the Nunavut Research



Institute (NRI) would need to be granted. Although I had asked officials if there was a research ethics board, and many searches were made on the Internet, I did not get a response or find any information about the existence of a research ethics board in Nunavut. Regardless of the discouraging emails and the frustration felt with the failed attempts to receive some sort of approval, an application was submitted to the NRI. This decision was made after ethical approval was granted from the Research Ethics Board (REB #5490) at Wilfrid Laurier University, an outcome which took numerous revisions from the REB as the research was on a vulnerable population that involved both Inuit *and* inmates. In talking with an employee from the NRI, strict guidelines were given on the number of words I could use in the NRI application and it was mandatory that some of the documents be translated to Inuktitut which cost 45 cents per word for a total of \$631.35. APPENDIX H shows the hostile manner in which the application was rejected by the NRI, who stated that the Research Ethics Board at Wilfrid Laurier University would be contacted and that they were “quite disappointed (and surprised) in the lack of ethical considerations.” In the last sentence of the email, I was encouraged to discuss matters with the Director of Corrections, an individual who I made numerous attempts to contact but who never responded directly. This final email made me question my competency as a researcher and I immediately emailed my supervisor, Dr. Debra Langan, apologizing for the rejection, believing it was all my fault and that I had done a disservice to the university. As a new researcher, this was all new to me and I was not prepared to feel the emotions that I felt.

There has been an increased attention in recent years to the role of emotions in qualitative research (Blix & Wettergren, 2014; Davies & Spencer, 2010; Dickson-Swift et al., 2009; Flam & Kleres, 2015; Peticca-Harris et al., 2016; Warren & Karner, 2015). The majority of the discussion on emotionality consist of being in the field and there is very little discussion about

the emotionality of gaining access. Peticca-Harris et al. (2016) explain that “researchers may experience feelings of confusion, anxiety, impatience, and uncertainty as they face access challenges” but they are expected to keep a lid on emotions because of the research arising from the hegemonic, institutionalized pressures that blanket the political landscape of academia (p. 378; see also Koning & Ooi, 2013). Furthermore, Peticca-Harris et al. (2016) explain that the process of gaining access is often “presented in a neutral, nonproblematic manner that overlooks the political and complex encounters between researchers, gatekeepers, and informants” (p. 378). The dealings with gatekeepers are often presented as exclusively between researcher and gatekeeper, but my experience in attempting to gain access shows that I was dealing with a number of individuals, and their responses varied - some officials endorsed the research while others did not.

I changed my approach to interviewing former correctional officers who had worked in Nunavut within the last two years, as well as interview Nunavut officials who either work within the Department of Justice or have worked within it at some point. Another goal was to interview *former* inmates which unfortunately did not happen. Ethical approval was granted for the modification of my research by the Research Ethics Board at Wilfrid Laurier University (REB #5490).

### Qualitative Interviewing

The first method utilized is qualitative interviewing which seeks to uncover the meanings, understandings, and explanations of specific areas of interest in the participants’ lives (Warren & Karner, 2015). Interviews consisted of a series of open-ended questions that sought to answer the proposed research questions outlined above. Interviews ran in accordance with a set of predetermined questions which were guided by themes that encouraged participants to provide

in-depth responses through follow-up questions and probing. There were six interviews conducted with correctional officers prior to going to Iqaluit, four of these were in-person at various coffee shops and restaurants, one was over video chat, and one was by phone. The remaining four interviews were conducted in Iqaluit. In total, there were ten semi-structured interviews; seven with former correctional officers and three with Nunavut officials. There was also a group discussion with two of the correctional officers who had already been interviewed. The interviews and group discussion were each approximately forty minutes to one hour in duration. I personally knew all of the correctional officers that were interviewed either from previously working with them or from mutual friends. Interviews with correctional officers began by having them discuss their background information such as the number of years having worked in corrections, which facilities they worked at, and how long they have lived or continue to live in Nunavut. Since the correctional officers were familiar, the interviews transitioned smoothly into the more challenging questions. The interviews with the officials took a more formal approach. Officials were asked to discuss their organization, their position within the organization, and their past experiences working with the Department of Justice, so there could be an opportunity for rapport building. All three officials had experience working within the Department and two of them specifically within Corrections, however, none of the officials were directly working with the Department of Justice at the time of the interviews. All officials had extensive experience living and working in Nunavut across various communities, with two of them having worked in the territory for over 30 years. One of the participants was Inuk. Officials were also asked to discuss the goals and objectives of their organizations.

A thematic interview guide (APPENDICES I and J) was used to encourage each group of participants to provide in-depth and detailed responses to questions pertaining to: general

assessments of what takes place in the facilities, their views on rehabilitation programming, and views on culturally sensitive programming. As suggested by Warren & Karner (2015, p. 127), in addition to the planned questions for the qualitative interview, probing for clarification during the interviews was anticipated. Probing questions were preplanned, but some were thought of during the interview because they were unique to the participants' answers. *How* questions were asked to ensure that the questions were as open-ended as possible and allowed for a discussion to take place.

### Participant Observation, Field Notes, and Analytic Memos

The second qualitative method utilized was participant observation which has roots in traditional ethnographic research. Participant observation is useful for acquiring “an understanding of the physical, social, cultural, and economic contexts in which study participants live; the relationships among and between people, contexts, ideas, norms, and events; and people’s behaviours and activities – what they do, how frequently, and with whom” (Mack et al., 2011, p. 13). I spent two weeks in Iqaluit in the month of January where I observed interactions and wrote field notes on my phone throughout the day. These notes however were jotted and thinly-descriptive. Even when there was an opportunity to write thickly-descriptive field notes, I followed Warren and Karner’s (2015) suggestion that it is not necessarily desirable since it makes it impossible to observe (p. 106). Thickly-descriptive field notes were written at the end of each day. These notes included Charmaz’s (2014) memo-writing; “Memo-writing is the pivotal intermediate step between data collection and writing drafts of papers. When you write memos, you stop and analyze your ideas about the codes in any – and every – way that occurs to you during the moment” (p. 162). In other words, memo-writing allowed for an engagement in critical analysis and the development of emerging ideas through the process of gathering data.

### Qualitative Content Analysis

Upon obtaining consent, the ten interviews and one group discussion were digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim using Express Scribe software. Once the transcribing was completed, I began to code and analyze the data, including the field notes, using Charmaz's (2014) notion of constructivist grounded theory. Constructivist grounded theory "consists of systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analyzing qualitative data to construct theories from the data themselves" (*Ibid*, p. 1). The approximately one-hundred-and-twenty single-spaced pages of transcriptions and field notes were coded through two phases: initial and focused. For initial coding, *In vivo* – direct quotes – and *gerunds* – action tenses – were used to label the codes (*Ibid*). Two examples of my initial codes are: 1) "thrown into the gauntlet" (using *In vivo*) and 2) lack of training affecting communication and consistency (using *gerunds*). The initial codes were organized into three documents: perceptions of correctional officers, perceptions of Nunavut officials, and field notes. After the initial coding was completed, focused coding took place such that the initial codes were grouped into broader codes. For example, the two codes above went under the focused code of 'lack of training.' Throughout this process, I retained the initial excerpts from participants and field notes beneath each code. The focused codes were organized into four documents: setting, actors, activities, interactions. This inductive approach to conducting research allowed the emerging data guide the research process. As such, the emergence of themes and concepts were treated as tentative, and were re-visited throughout the research as the data were dispensed, corrected, and retained. This data analysis allowed the larger themes to reach a point of theoretical saturation (Charmaz, 2014) in that no new themes were emerging from the data analysis.

In contextualizing this project, I came to the realization that the constructivist grounded theory approach began – albeit unknowingly – on the first day I began employment with the Division of Corrections in Nunavut a few years back. This approach began in the form of ethnography. According to Charmaz (2014), “ethnography means recording the life of a particular group and thus entails sustained participation and observation in their milieu, community, or social world” (p. 35). Although during my employment I did not record data in the traditional sense, I carried with me, as memories, the interactions and experiences I had through sustained participation and observation.

### **The Setting**

The focus of this section is on how correctional officers view the physical and cultural setting, ‘setting the stage’ for the findings chapters that follow. Nunavut corrections is comprised of seven correctional facilities across the territory. There is one facility for all youth, one female adult facility, and five adult male facilities, with one being a halfway house. The correctional officers in this research could only speak on the facilities within Iqaluit, which hold five of the seven correctional facilities in Nunavut, including the female adult facility and the youth facility. With respect to the setting, Makigiarvik, Baffin Correctional Centre, and the Nunavut Women’s Correctional Centre (NWCC) were the only facilities discussed.

#### **Setup and Procedures of the Facilities**

One section of the interview guide asked correctional officers about their perceptions of the setup and procedures of the facilities they worked in. Six of the seven correctional officers interviewed worked at Baffin Correctional Centre (BCC). All of the responses with respect to the facility’s setup and procedures were negative. One officer describes the building as decrepit, outdated, and not equipped to house dangerous offenders. Another officer noted:

Problem is we have a bunch of [maximum security] inmates and they can use the building itself, the facility itself against us because there's so many weak points. There's so much things that can be pulled off the wall and used as contraband and weapons.

(CO7)

In addition to “weak points” within the facility, officers also talked about how the perimeter of the facility is a weak point used by inmates. There is no perimeter fence around the building and this contributes to inmates receiving contraband from drops into the bullpen *and* through the holes along the walls while they are inside the facility. One officer shed some light on the frequency and dangerousness of these holes:

[W]e got to a point where there's this huge hole in the wall. I can stick my arm in it therefore I can stick a gun, I can stick in a shovel, a crowbar, literally anything, yeah. Or you can stick like a big gun. Not much bigger and you can probably get out yourself. It would be another couple boards of drywall and a sheet of one tenth of an inch of metal. And then it would just happen again and again. So if you walk along outside the building, you can see about maybe 40 patches easily, 40 holes of like-, every room too. (CO1)

Similar to the setup of the facility, the procedures at BCC received negative responses as well. One participant explained how the building will go on lockdown if you smell tobacco but that is exactly what the inmates wanted because “they wanna stay in there and smoke their stuff” (CO7). This participant also discussed how the lack of isolation cells meant that there are dorm units which hold up to six maximum security inmates at a time; “They're putting 6 max inmates in one room together and then having one staff walk in and the inmates are challenging, it's [a] very very dangerous situation” (CO7). The dangerousness extended beyond the facility as well. One participant discussed the lack of safety while doing escorting procedures and how the

security rating will be reduced for inmates being escorted. The purpose for this was to reduce costs as fewer officers were needed for lower security ratings. The participant gave a comprehensive explanation as to why escorting procedures are failing:

[W]hen you're escorting a maximum security offender, you need a designed vehicle for that. Our vehicle was- for the longest time was to transport them in a regular pickup with no medium in between as a security barrier. Offenders not being shackled or having the proper handcuffing procedures due to inadequate training, inadequate resources and inadequate standing operating procedures that were not being followed or enforced. How many times do we escort offenders, maximum security offenders with just one escorting officer? Which is completely unseen. How many times the security rating would be dumbed down just to max their resources that we have there so not to create overtime or pay overtime. Completely unethical. That's just one example. And honestly there's 21 chapters in the SOPs and I can go on and on and on. (CO5)

Although BCC was seen by correctional officers as a facility failing in both its setup and its procedures, the same cannot be said about Makigiarvik. The overwhelming majority stated that Makigiarvik has a successful setup, with no mentions about its procedures. One participant described the layout inside the facility and why they like it:

I really like the layout of Makigiarvik because there's what we call the eagle's nest, so it's right centred in the building and then there's two long quarters on each side of the eagle's nest. And then so from the eagle's nest you can see everywhere in the building, plus you have all the cameras. Yeah, that one was great. (CO1)

In this excerpt, it is clear that space and visibility are important measurements in determining which features of the facility COs liked. In comparison, when describing the Nunavut Women's



Correctional Centre (NWCC), participants discussed how the facility is very small and there is a lack of privacy; with one participant describing it as “just a little bungalow” (CO2). Another officer explained:

There was no intake room, there’s nowhere for them to change properly so they’re having to change in the nurse’s station. So if you had an intake and you had somebody in the nurse’s station, the intake would have to wait. It’s just a really bad setup. (CO6)

Six of the seven correctional officers interviewed have worked in multiple correctional facilities and were asked if they could directly compare the facilities. Makigiavik and BCC received the most comparisons and were seen as quite dichotomous. One officer discussed how there was a lot more accountability for inmates in Makigiavik than in BCC and gave the example of how inmates in Makigiavik are charged for smoking, whereas in BCC, the inmates are ignored when smoking (CO6). This participant referred to Makigiavik as the “country club” and BCC as the “shithouse.” Overall, the participants said that it was difficult to compare facilities within Nunavut corrections because “every facility is run much differently” (CO1). In addition, two officers with experience working in correctional facilities outside of Nunavut stated that working in Nunavut is completely different. One officer stated:

[It is] way more organized [in facilities outside Nunavut]. The inmates are very respectful to staff. They call you boss in [facilities outside Nunavut] ... they’re not friends with you obviously but they don’t outright disrespect you like they do here. (CO7)

### Describing the Occupational Culture

Officers described the occupational culture as “overwhelming,” “exhausting,” “defeating,” and a “scrambled-up mess.” One officer explained that it is difficult for things to run smoothly because of the numerous obstacles that need to be overcome:

I would describe [the occupational culture] as exhausting, defeating. I would say that the officer culture on a whole, everybody would like everything to be running smoothly and well and good but there was just a lot of obstacles to get around. (CO1)

Another officer explained that this is because “management has lost touch with what the floor needs done” (CO7). The occupational culture being perceived as negative amongst correctional officers might have a correlation to the shortage of staff and high turnover rates. All of the officers mentioned how shortage of staff, burnout rates, and turnover rates amongst correctional officers are major concerns within Nunavut corrections. BCC was seen as having the biggest challenge with respect to not having enough correctional officers. One participant stated:

...[O]ver the years these [good] staff have kinda died out. A lot of people burning out, a lot of people don't wanna be there anymore, sick of the place, sick of the way management is running the show, and you know, it is hard ... new staff coming and going. New Wardens coming and going. They all got a new perspective of a different way of doing things so it's hard to get things more consistent in the North. (CO4)

## **Chapter Four: Perceptions of Correctional Officers and Program Instructors**

This chapter presents how correctional officers perceive themselves and the instructors within the correctional facilities.

### Background and impetus for pursuing Correctional Work in Nunavut

Interviews began by having participants discuss their background prior to working in Nunavut. About half of the officers had experience working in law enforcement, with two of them having education in a related field. Six of the seven officers grew up in the “South” with no prior knowledge on Inuit culture. The one officer who grew up in Nunavut, stated that they had good knowledge of Inuit culture and a good understanding of social etiquette in the “North.” None of the correctional officers interviewed were Inuit. Regarding correctional experience in Nunavut, six of the seven officers have worked at multiple correctional facilities in Nunavut, with all of those six having worked at BCC. Their time of employment with Nunavut corrections ranges from two years to eight years.

Participants were asked what made them decide to pursue the position of correctional officer in Nunavut. Earning a high wage, wanting to help others, and pursuing a career in law enforcement were the most common reasons participants gave. Whenever money was mentioned, it was always coupled with another reason for working there. One participant explained that the main reason for working there was money but also noted that “I did care about my job. I did want to learn and grow” (CO2). Additionally, two participants discussed how important it was for them to help others and that this job was an opportunity to do that, with one having stated:

My main purpose to get in there was, not only to get education in my field of work but to be a part of helping, helping society, helping give back, put back into society. Helping to

rehabilitate the offenders and basically just help people in general. That's basically what I wanted to do, to help help help, and I thought that was a good way to do so. (CO4)

All of the participants heard about the position through a relative or family member and were told that it would be easy to get into corrections in Nunavut compared to corrections outside the territory.

#### "Thrown into the gauntlet" - Hiring Process and Training

Participants discussed how the hiring process was very basic and applicants tended to start their shadow shifts almost immediately after applying and going through an interview. Shadow Shifts consist of following an officer around for the duration of each shift. Sometimes applicants started their shadow shifts without even having taken part in an interview (CO3; FN3). Participants noted that the reason for this short hiring process is due to the high demand for correctional officers, where the facilities required staff to be on-floor as soon as possible. They also noted how this demand is a big reason why there were officers who were not qualified to work in a correctional facility, with one officer having stated, "there was people that had no business being in a jail" (CO1), and another officer explained the situation as "slim pickings" (CO4)

Additionally, it was explained that many Inuit did not want to work in correctional facilities due to interpersonal conflict. Inuit officers often got in awkward situations as inmates could be people they went to school with, friends, and even family members. One officer explained this:

The Inuit that are getting hired, they have family members that are incarcerated in that facility, so it makes things a thousand times tougher on them, so a lot of people don't wanna apply there. (CO4)

Another officer explained that Inuit officers were also seen as conflicted amongst their own peers:

They understand more the side of the Inuit and then are conflicting within their own peers or colleagues which are being seen as lazy and all that. So it's never a really big positive outcome on that sense. Now that all reflects the inadequate training and consistencies and lack of efficient delivery systems. (CO5)

Every participant expressed major concerns surrounding the topic of training. Training prior to starting employment was largely described as nonexistent. Officers expressed how after a successful interview, they were called in to complete ten twelve-hour shadow shifts. There were occasions however, when "a shadow" was given keys and a radio well before completing all ten shadow shifts because there were not enough officers on the floor that day, deeming the applicant 'ready' to be a correctional officer. One officer explained their experience on starting before completing all ten shadow shifts; "I want to say it's ten training shifts, ten. I remember being given a set of keys on my eighth shift and telling me that I was now an officer on the floor" (CO3). Shadow shifts were the closest thing to training that correctional officers received prior to receiving a uniform and be entrusted with all the responsibilities of being a correctional officer. One officer explained how surprised they were when they got called in for their shadow shifts without any training:

I was basically called and asked when I could start and [they] told me to show up for 10 shadow shifts. It kinda threw me away. I was a little shocked that there was no background information that they were looking into, but I was just kinda thrown right in. (CO4)

Additionally, one officer explained the experience of starting off as a correctional officer in Nunavut by comparing it to initiation for a gang; “The training is- I would say you’re just thrown into the gauntlet. I would say it almost feels like it’s initiation for a gang because you’re just thrown in out there” (CO1). Statements such as “thrown right in” and “thrown into the gauntlet” speak to how little officers felt like they were prepared to work as a correctional officer in Nunavut. This became evident when participants expressed that they were not ready to start working there at the time they did, with one officer having stated “I have no idea what I’m gonna be doing ... you definitely learn as you go” (CO1, 2). Another officer stated that they felt like they were “winging it”:

At first, it’s very confusing because you don’t get the proper training needed to be a correctional officer. So you’re just kinda winging it. Shadowing other officers and what they do ... You do 10 shadow shifts at both facilities but they’re never enough to actually know all the proper rules and procedures needed to actually run the facility. (CO2)

This officer expressed how having only shadow shifts was not enough preparation for correctional officers to know the rules and procedures within the facility. Further, they discussed how shadow shifts were inconsistent since every officer you were shadowing did things differently; “It varied on the kind of training you were getting depends on who you were working with” (CO2). There was also no type of testing after the shadow shifts were completed as a new officer only had to say that they were ready to put on the uniform. One officer stated that “this whole 10 days [and] give them the keys, that’s just not very conducive to having good staff ‘cause anyone can shadow for 10 days and say okay, I understand what’s going on” (CO7).

After having been given a uniform and the title of correctional officer, participants stated that training was extremely minimal, with some officers not receiving any training for numerous

months after having started employment. The training consisted of two to four-day courses and was offered “once in a blue moon” and only to “select staff” (CO1). It was expected that the more experienced officers would get priority to receive the training, but if the officer was on leave, they had to wait at least a year before the same course was offered again and be given the opportunity to take it (FN8). In describing the lack of training, one participant referred to these training courses as “fly-by assessments”:

Training is parallel to [the operations of the facilities] and paramount to its efficiency. I mean by training, I don’t mean giving you a 2-day, I call them fly-by assessments. That’s what we used to call them. Fly-by in terms the jet fighters that fly by air traffic tower control. Oh I see it, oh I’m already gone, I don’t have time. But then you write a review on that, come on. (CO5)

These “fly-by assessments” consisted of four training modules by the Justice Institute of British Columbia (JIBC) and three training modules by the Nunavut Healing and Learning Together (NUHALT) program (Government of Nunavut, 2017). JIBC involved corrections security training whereas NUHALT was responsible for teaching officers how to engage in healthy communication with inmates, taking Inuit culture into consideration. One participant described NUHALT as “a questioning technique and talking technique to try to turn around a conversation so that the person you’re talking to takes some responsibility for his actions” (CO7).

A number of participants described NUHALT and JIBC training as valuable, but the consensus was that these courses were not enough to prepare them for correctional work in Nunavut corrections. When participants were asked if they received any Inuit cultural training while working there, they responded by stating that “there was no Nunavut based training” and “no cultural training” (CO1; CO3). Similarly, one participant stated that there was no self-

defence training throughout the duration of their employment there although JIBC module three is all self defence training. Additionally, one officer explained how NUHALT and JIBC catered more to BCC staff:

[NUHALT and JIBC] were informative, however it really did sort of cater more to BCC because I was in a training room with people who only worked at BCC. And I was the only one from the women's because we only had a certain amount of staff. They couldn't put all of us in training together... It kinda felt it didn't really cater to what I could use at work. (CO2)

In explaining how officers from all correctional facilities are invited into the same training programs, this officer felt that the training they received was not something that they could use at their facility.

The details of the training programs were not discussed other than NUHALT module three. This training consisted of having correctional officers learn to teach one of the NUHALT classes to the inmates as part of their rehabilitation programming. This class was comprised of techniques to have people improve on their communication with others. One participant explained the difficulties of having correctional officers learn and teach such a class:

...[A]ll of a sudden now you're being forced to teach it to the inmates. A couple of staff like it, most staff hate it. And it's since been dropped at BCC because inmates gave up on it. Because some staff don't know what they're doing in there. Not anybody can be a teacher... It was an epic fail. (CO7)

#### Correctional Officers Communicating with Inmates

It was noted that lack of training for correctional officers affected their communication with inmates and led to problems around consistency in communicating, as one participant stated:



The communication. It was really good with senior staff and really poor with new staff. Clearly, the staff needs more training because it's not fair to the inmates to be told one thing by one staff and one thing by another staff. Because then they're getting mixed messages and they know who to play. So you're giving them the power of manipulation by not giving them the consistency of rule. And then also you're making it harder on the officers that do have rules compared to the officers that just give in or don't know the rules. (CO6)

In the statement above, the participant discussed how senior staff communicated better with the inmates compared to the new staff, and that when communication failed, there was a lack of consistency which allowed inmates to gain some power over staff.

Correctional officers had mixed responses, when they discussed their experiences in communicating with the inmates. One officer expressed frustration because of a lack of time to communicate with inmates:

I wouldn't have the time to pull him out to sit down with him and say, "Whats going on? Where do you wanna go in life?" And that's the whole reason why I signed up for that type of work, was to help people.... you're shuffling them from one room to the next and that's basically all it comes down to. (CO4)

Many participants discussed differences in communication according to the facility in question. Correctional officers in Makigiarvik were seen as more interpersonal with the inmates and having better communication overall. One participant noted:

...their Officers were, I would say the more trained ones at times. They were definitely more interpersonal, and they would actually talk to people and actually try to deescalate things and then see problems before they started. I found like the way that facility was

run was much much better. It was so clean, there was respect. There was clear lines about attitude and where things-, where you would be in the wrong if you were an inmate.

(CO1)

In this statement, training was once again used as an indicator of successful communication. The participant also noted that successful communication created “clear lines” for inmates. This participant later gave an example of how to set clear lines by recalling one correctional officer who always respected the inmates and “as soon as they crossed that line, she told them exactly where they went wrong” (CO1).

In contrast to Makigiarvik, correctional officers at NWCC were seen as having difficulty communicating with the inmates at times. One officer explained how it was difficult to get inmates to listen to the officers:

...[T]he girls don’t listen. We have no authority over them sometimes because you know, things are going well so we praise them, we give them this, they get more whatever.

Then, all of a sudden, it switches and it’s like well we’re not your friend anymore, now we have to tell you what to do. But five days ago we were all laughing, going out for a walk, and I was able to do whatever I wanted. (COGD)

This quote demonstrates that communication at NWCC was inconsistent as “things are going well” but it can change “all of a sudden.”

In addition to praising inmates and attempting to have “authority over them,” another form of communication used by correctional officers was to take an interest to learn about Inuit culture. One officer discussed how she would get inmates to teach her about their culture:

I would really take an interest if I overheard inmates talking about hunting, or fishing, or seeing certain language- like words and their language, or writing certain things. I would

really take an interest, cause I actually am interested first of all. I would try to get them to teach me about their culture. If you show that you're trying to understand, they will slowly respect you a little more and not call you white and not say go back to your country. (CO3)

In the latter part of this quote, the participant explained how taking an interest in the inmates' culture made inmates slowly respect the officers a little more. Participants also noted that differences in culture between staff and inmates created a language barrier which made it difficult for officers to communicate with the inmates. One participant explained the differences in culture and language, and how this affected communication:

... [M]ost Inuits' first language is Inuktitut or Inuinnaqtun or different dialects from different regions that they're at. Most staff that work there, 90% white males or are from southern regions and they speak primarily English or some Francophone ... The problem was from the differentiation from different cultures, the language barrier which created a lot of tension at times cause the message that was reverberated to the offender was not perceived as you thought it was being perceived or understood as you thought it was understood, and then reprimand ensued and then became a whole shitshow. Due to the fact that they could not understand or comprehend, translation is needed. Now, that's with the aging population. (CO5)

The above quote demonstrates the language gap that exists between correctional officers and inmates, more specifically the older inmate population. However, the participant later stated that there was also a language barrier with the younger inmate population:

With the new population, they understand completely well English but that does not mean that they understand it in-depth in the more complex meaning of the English

language. So again, when you're talking to them, you have to kinda dumb down the expressions or dumb down the way you're talking due to low coping skill, FASD-. (CO5)

Overall, officers thought that the language barrier was difficult to overcome. One officer stated that the solution for this was to hire correctional officers "that can speak that language" (COGD). As noted previously, none of the officers interviewed were Inuit, and it was expressed that roughly 10% of the staff were Inuit.

One way officers found to communicate successfully with inmates was through the use of humour. An officer who was not Inuit but had experience living in Nunavut discussed how knowing that Inuit people are self-deprecating with their jokes and laugh at each other helped him use humour to communicate with them successfully. Another officer stated the importance of humour but noted that correctional officers need to first build some rapport with inmates:

...[Y]ou can't joke with an inmate from a new staff's perspective about something that you know right away if the inmate doesn't know the staff, they're gonna think it's inappropriate and they're gonna lash out and say something back ... The newer staff may not have meant anything by it but in the meantime, myself for example, who has been there for [...] years, the majority of the inmates in that building I can probably go in and have a good chuckle, a good laugh back and forth. (CO4)

In the statement above, this participant demonstrated the value that experienced officers have when it comes to communicating with inmates successfully.

#### Assessments of Correctional Officer Behaviour

Beyond communication, a number of participants discussed their perceptions of correctional officers' behaviour within the facilities. Correctional officer behaviour received mixed responses; correctional officers were described as too straight forward, others as too timid,

many as amazing, and many as unqualified who were only there to collect a paycheque. One participant explained that there are three types of officers:

You have people that are trained and have education and a background with criminology and/or some sort of prior knowledge. And then you have people that are just good people and there to work hard, and then there's just people there that have no business being in a jail but they're there because it's 43 dollars an hour. (CO1)

Above, the participant creates three categories to describe correctional officers; officers with prior knowledge, officers who work hard, and officers who are inadequate at working at a correctional facility. This mixture of staff behaviour was echoed across participants as many acknowledged that officers' behaviour vastly varied. One participant recalled occasions when officers would threaten inmates:

I've seen a couple of occasions where a staff would roll up their sleeves and threaten the inmate back and ready to go at it. And that staff would get escorted off the floor by other staff. It's a challenge, the whole thing is a challenge ... There are some staff that are too aggressive that probably need to take a step back and realize the whole purpose of them being there. That just comes with more training and better understanding, empathy.  
(CO4)

This description of being "too aggressive" was discussed by a number of participants, often being coupled with lack of training. Additionally, one officer explained how she used to dread working with some officers because they would take a military approach in their behaviour. This military-aggressive behaviour can be explored in the following statement by an officer who was comparing the behaviour of female officers to the behaviour of male officers:

The women are usually too nice, too timid ... they're really easily bullied. It's a little bit harder for the women versus the men. The men are completely opposite so it's like night and day. The female officers are wussies where the men are almost the opposite in that they overstep because they have all the bravado, right? There was officers like you that were laid back chill and didn't have something to prove and then you have other officers, not gonna name any names, that always had to try to prove something and talk down to them. Just to try to make their point that they were big men. So you'd have that little dog syndrome. That's where the men and the women are totally different... Even the women officers that worked in the men's jail were too timid. (CO6)

In the excerpt above, men were described as having a "bravado" attitude and "something to prove." In contrast, female officers were described as "too nice, too timid" and "easily bullied." Correctional officers as *too* continued to be a theme in describing their behaviour. In explaining how a lot of the staff tried very hard to be reasonable with the inmates, one participant described some correctional officers as often being "too understanding" (CO3).

In staying true to the mixed responses on correctional officers' behaviour, participants also expressed how "amazing" some staff were; "I found some staff were amazing ... other staff really worked well as a team, they were really present when they were there" (CO3). This praise towards some officers extended to the more senior officers as participants explained that they preferred to work with senior correctional officers as they communicated well and were more professional with the inmates. One officer noted:

And if you're working with staff that had worked there for 10 or 5 years since it opened, they were obviously better at listening to those people because they already had that authority, they knew their job inside and out. (CO2)

This officer also discussed how the variety in types of officers, combined with having had to work with different officers almost every shift, required to “change my personality depending on who I worked with” (CO2). The change in personality speaks to almost a ‘survival mode’ approach that correctional officers took while working there. Two participants explained how officers in BCC picked their battles and that “everyone is out there for themselves”:

You have to let certain things go. You can’t fight every battle in there, so you know, you have to find your way of what you wanna make a stand on. (CO7)

So, everyone is out there for themselves which is, it’s weird. A lot of the time it just felt like you were working and you’re just trying to make it so someone didn’t explode on your shift and then it was like alright, as long as it’s not on my shift, you know. (CO1)

Furthermore, when explaining the difference between NWCC and BCC, one officer stated that in addition to the number of inmates and size of the facilities, it was even harder to understand the rules at BCC because “every officer has their own set of rules” (CO6). Statements such as having “to let certain things go,” officers being “out there for themselves,” and officers having “their own set of rules” suggested how the behaviour among correctional officers was inconsistent, with an officer having stated that the behaviour of officers created “blurred lines” when it came to the rules (CO1). In other words, behaviour had an effect on how the rules were managed. One officer attempted to provide an explanation for this inconsistency:

Staff behaviour has always been more of a reactionary force than a proactive one due to the leaderless behaviour from command staff or the leadership in place. The staff were basically given keys, a radio, and told to follow standing operating procedures but when they were trying to follow those, we were told that, in an inconsistent basis, not to do it that way, do it this way... And then that created a retaliatory behaviour from the

offenders toward the staff. And also, the staff behaviour was a reactionary to that. You get a lot of complacency versus good habits. Look, they were trying their best with what they were given but what they were given was not what was needed. (CO5)

Here, the participant discusses how the correctional officers' behaviour and inconsistency could be attributed to poor leadership as they were not given what was needed in terms of leadership.

#### Embracing the Culture - Correctional Officers Living in Nunavut

Although the turnover rate for correctional officers in Nunavut is high and the overwhelming number of officers are from the "south," there are some who have decided to stay long-term and make a life in Nunavut. As one participant noted:

P: You'd see these officers come up and then they're like oh you know I don't really know if this is for me and then you see them there 6 years later and they've got a Inuit wife or something, you know. It happens.

I: Yeah, they immerse themselves.

P: They totally immerse themselves. And they go hunting and they totally embrace the culture and then they pretty much become lifers. A lot of people really do like the lifestyle up there 'cause it takes 10 minutes to get to work. In that sense it's really good. I found more often than not, officers always learned a little bit of Inuktitut and it kinda just goes further. (CO1)

Above, the participant discussed officers becoming "lifers" and provided examples of why working and living in Nunavut can be appealing. Another officer who lived in Nunavut for many years and decided to immerse themselves by dating an Inuk and engaging in traditional Inuit practices such as hunting, expressed that living there helped them understand the culture better. This officer stated:



I mean you could say that you understand but you don't really understand. You haven't lived it, you haven't been through things that other people have been through. And like I said, I'm not saying I've been through everything, but I've been through a lot ... It's good that people are coming in, but in the meantime, I think you also need a lot of people that have been down that lifestyle ... It's good that they're willing to come up and help out because I mean, you're not gonna know just staying out of here or never witnessing anything that goes on in another environment until you've been there, but when you've been there you can't just-, you gotta get right into the mix. (CO4)

In the above statement, the officer explained how you cannot say you understand the culture if you have not lived it. For this officer, having "lived it" is not simply living in the community, but rather putting yourself "right into the mix." This ethnographic perspective of seeking to understand Inuit interpretation by having one truly immerse themselves in the culture is suggested to be an asset in correctional work, as the deeper the understanding of Inuit culture one has, the better that person will understand the inmates.

Immersion in the community also came with drawbacks for correctional officers. Participants discussed how living in the community meant that they got to see recently released inmates outside of the facility on a regular basis. As one officer noted:

P: And then like also at the end of the day you go home and sometimes you go to the bar and there's an inmate who got released last week. It makes your life a little uncomfortable. You don't feel safe sometimes. Like taking a cab home with the prisoner who got released that morning and then I got dropped off at my house first. He knows where I live. Not that I think he's gonna do anything but...(CO1)

In addition, because the recidivism rate is so high for inmates, officers anticipate that former inmates that they see in the community are likely to end up back in jail under their supervision.

As this officer explained:

[S]ome of the [inmates], they'd be joking "oh I'm gonna see you next month because I'm gonna go back in." Or they pretend to try and sell you drugs ... Sometimes it's good to clear the air but sometimes it's a little unsettling. Especially officers who have children and a family that they maybe know who they are and then just like the harassment. I know a few of my fellow officers were sucker punched outside bars for whatever reasons... (CO1)

#### Program Instructors and Facilitators

In addition to providing their perceptions of matters related to correctional officers, participants also discussed their perceptions of the program instructors. Six of the seven correctional officers interviewed perceived the instructors as generally unqualified to run the programs. The seventh participant only commented on the instructors' lack of knowledge about Inuit culture, "I don't think it would really matter who understands their culture and who doesn't. A lot of them are just very resistant to change and help and rehab anyway" (CO3). In this excerpt, the officer expressed that the credentials of the instructors were not very important as the inmates are perceived as not wanting to change, an idea that will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

When discussing rehabilitation programs, a number of participants talked about how the delivery of the programs was also failing because the instructors were seen as unqualified. One participant stated that "there was drug and alcohol counselling but that was with someone I don't think was very qualified" (CO1). Another participant gave a more comprehensive description:

I mean, all of those are great on paper but mean absolutely zero if the delivery is inefficient, inaccurate, inconsistent, and delivered by individuals that have no credentials or no way to understand how to deliver these programs. Anybody that has two neurons that connect together can read a pdf. I've been subjected to programs that was delivered to me that normally a psychiatrist or a psychology clinician should be giving me that programming, yet it was someone that received a 2-day training program that reading me a pdf and when I was questioning them on the terminology, all I was getting was "revert back to your manual." This is completely unacceptable in terms of a profession and a professional world where you're in charge of rehabilitating offenders, human beings that have to return to society and then continue on with a positive result. (CO5)

It is clear that this officer did not perceive the instructors as having the credentials needed to deliver the programs. As discussed earlier in this chapter on correctional officers having received training courses to teach a program, it is apparent that quickly learning and teaching a program is not uncommon within Nunavut corrections. Another participant expanded on this notion of learning and teaching a program by stating that correctional officers are even learning the material as they teach it:

Sometimes the facilitator is stumbling through the program as well. Like they're learning as they teach it. Because they don't send us away to do programs. If you become a case worker, and they say okay you're gonna teach, whatever, say it's substance abuse today, he's gotta learn it and then teach it. It's kind of a silly way to do it. (CO7)

Participants explained that the instructors across NWCC, BCC, and Makigiavik are predominately non-Inuit and their knowledge on Inuit culture is nonexistent. In addition to needing more qualified instructors, participants recommended that there also be more Inuit

instructors. Participants felt that whether or not Inuit instructors have a good knowledge of the culture, inmates are more likely to listen to them because they are Inuit. As one officer noted: There needs to be more Inuit facilitators working with the Inuit inmates because Inuit inmates have more respect for Inuit people (CO2).

Although the instructors of the programs within the facilities were mainly perceived as unqualified, the Inuit Culture Skills Program (ICSP) was described as having the most qualified instructors, with all of them being Inuit. ICSP is a program that allows inmates to go on the land to engage in traditional Inuit practices such as hunting and clam digging.

## **Chapter Five: Perceptions on Inmates and Rehabilitation Programming**

The first part of this chapter will present the ways in which correctional officers describe the inmate population with respect to how inmates behave towards one another and correctional officers. The second part of the chapter will focus on the correctional officers' perspectives on rehabilitation.

### Inmate Population: Differences Between Communities and Inter-Generational Differences

Inmates were described as victims, having low literacy rates, an addiction to drugs and alcohol, suffering from mental health issues, and being repeat-offenders. Despite these similarities, participants discussed that inmates differed culturally and generationally.

Participants who worked at NWCC explained that there were typically between four and eight female inmates being housed in the facility at a time, while BCC had between sixty and eighty inmates housed at a time. One participant stated that female inmates were “usually victims of the environment of assault, rape, [and] molestation” (CO6). This participant also noted how the inmates at BCC were victims who too had been assaulted by other inmates in the same facility or had relatives who had been victimized by another inmate.

It was expressed that all the inmates across the correctional facilities had low literacy rates. As one participant noted:

They have a difficulty with low education levels. On top of that, their education system is already downgraded compared to the education systems that we have here. So, for the longest time, they're 12 grade high school degree, didn't mean exactly what a 12-grade degree meant [in Ontario], in mathematics or physics science or geography or geometry or name it, whatever. The standard was not the same standard, that's what I'm saying. (CO5)

The notion that the level of education is lower in Nunavut compared to the rest of the country seemed to spread across many locals. While spending time with a number of parents who have young children, some expressed their concern of the level of education in Nunavut. One couple even stated how they plan to move ‘south’ so that their kids can have a proper education (FN5). It is important to note that the couples who expressed concerns on the level of education consisted of at least one partner who was non-Inuit.

Correctional officers also discussed how the majority of inmates were in the facilities because of crimes that they committed while being intoxicated. One officer stated that the crimes were “100% alcohol related” and another discussed how “half of them come in and they say, ‘oh I can’t believe what happened, I was drunk.’ They call it blacked out” (CO1; CO7).

Correctional officers saw inmates as suffering from mental health issues that were not being addressed properly. As one participant stated that the lack of addressing mental health issues is a big reason “why their mental health is damaged, damaged, damaged, so damaged. And they’re not gonna learn with what we give them and provide for them. They’re gonna come right back” (COGD). “They’re gonna come right back” refers to the high recidivism rates that participants constantly expressed throughout the interviews. There was a consensus that inmates were repeat offenders and it was expected that they would return shortly after being released. One officer even stated that “some guys come back three or four days later” (CO7).

Many participants talked about how although all inmates were Inuit, they were very different from one another as the Inuit cultures vary in their beliefs and practices, especially since the introduction of colonization. After being asked about the inclusion of Inuit cultural beliefs and practices in rehabilitation programs, one participant felt it was necessary to first talk about the variation of beliefs by inmates. This participant noted:

I mean I feel it's almost a weird time for them for their beliefs because there's some people that still believe in shamanism and then the rest of them, a lot of them are white-washed Christians. It's really weird. You get some people coming in to prayer and then you have other people not expecting that and then there's friction there. I just feel like a lot don't know who they are. (CO1)

Above, the participant discussed the tensions around different beliefs on spirituality and religion, and how this caused friction. In addition, the introduction of the 'white man' has caused some Inuit to be viewed as "white-washed Christians," creating an even bigger division. Although participant CO1 felt that a lot of the inmates did not "know who they [were]", he expressed how every region in Nunavut was different and inmates took a lot of pride on the community that they each came from. The participant noted:

P: ...[I]f you're from the Western Arctic you're gonna be a totally different person than you are from the North Baffin. There's the 3 regions, the Baffin region, Kitikmeot Region, and the Kivalliq Region.

I: ...So you're saying within Inuit you can't label them as the same?

P: No, 'cause they do take pride from where each one is from. Even on Baffin Island, if you're from Iqaluit, you're not gonna be as nice to someone maybe from Pangnirtung. Or if you're from Pang in general, or if you're from Cape Dorset in general, they're very very proud people. And that proudness sometimes comes out in different ways. It's totally different. From their dialects, the way they speak to the things that they hunt to just the way they deal with things. The way they talk, their accents. It's all completely different. (CO1)

It is clear that this participant perceived that there were vast differences among inmates, and by extension, the Inuit population of Nunavummiut. Another participant used the analogy of gangs to describe how inmates from different communities operated at BCC:

...I didn't work in a southern facility, but I know down here it's gang related. For example, Hells Angels versus the Rock Machine versus the Bandidos. However, up North it's totally different, it's community based. It could be people from Kimmirut, from the clientele that comes in from Rankin, or from Cape Dorset like I mentioned, or Iqaluit themselves. It's always just a power struggle just between those communities. (CO4)

In addition, the participant noted how inmates got involved in a "cat and mouse game" where communities engaged in a power struggle on who would be "running the show." As the participant stated:

I know my experiences with BCC is that, you know, we would have x amount of inmates inside the jail which would be running the show which would be, for example Iqaluit. And then you know, after a couple weeks, a few guys from another community such as Cape Dorset will come and it's almost like a cat and mouse game. They're calling their buddies, saying that "we're almost taking over the jail" and the next thing you know a couple more inmates from Cape Dorset will be involved. And next thing you know Cape Dorset is running the jail. And then it's a back and forth. (CO4)

Although inmates tried to "do their time" and not partake in the 'game,' it was explained that this proved to be difficult because they were "pressured and bullied by the people that are in charge" to bring in contraband (CO7).



In addition to the differences between communities, correctional officers also discussed the inter-generational differences that existed between inmates. One officer presented a distinction between the “aging population” and the “newcoming generation” of inmates:

So the behaviour was shifting by I believe two main factors: the aging population of offender that were there from previous generation, and then the newcoming generation of offenders that had been more in contact with the new technology, the new connections to southern institutions, the connection to the media, social media, in-depth connection with hip hop and gang styles and gang wording and gang affiliations, following 50-cent’s routine as a model of life. These individuals were not on the same connections or same basis as the older population of offenders, so you could see a transition between that.

(CO5)

The impact that media and technology have had on the younger population was cited by many officers as the cause of inter-generational divisions. One officer recalled that the Inuit elders “blame technology, cellphones, ipads, facebook for the youth not wanting to know about their culture” (CO3). When asked about the importance of implementing Inuit cultural beliefs and practices within the rehabilitation programs, one officer discussed how cultural sensitivity did not resonate with many inmates, particularly those of the younger generation:

It all depends on the inmates. Like I said, the younger fellas, they don’t, some of them can’t even speak Inuktitut. So, I mean you could be trying to reintegrate them with culture sensitivity things but they might not even be aware of them... You can see that they offer programs and they’re talking about how Inuit are losing their language because the younger generation is not motivated to learn it. They’re watching videos on television, they’re watching movies and music, there is no Inuit. (CO7)

### Inmates Communicating with Correctional Officers

In the previous chapter, it was demonstrated how participants felt that the language gap between officers and inmates had a big impact on communication. In addition to the language gap resulting in unintended meanings, one officer explained how the language gap also made inmates feel insecure to speak English; “For them to communicate to us or have a deep conversation, they couldn’t do it in their language tongue then they kinda felt insecure about talking in general” (CO2). Participants explained that the barrier in language was also used by inmates to their advantage as they were able to plan disruptions by speaking Inuktitut in front of the non-Inuit officers.

The overwhelming majority of correctional officers explained that inmates harassed and used threatening language towards the officers. As one officer noted:

...[Y]ou have a little smirk or something, like a nervous smirk, you’re gonna get abused by inmates 100%. Or if you’re new, you’re gonna get abused. Whether it’s just like calling you racist names, no matter what race you are you’re gonna get hit. Even if you’re Inuit, they’ll attack you. Or they’ll say you’re a traitor... A lot of these inmates will be like “I know where you live, I know what car you drive, oh you’re gonna have a popped tire when you go out because you’re not gonna help me bring in this package.” There was a lot of intimidation, especially at the new people- “oh you can make money if you help us.” All the time, I was just being harassed ‘cause they’re like “you know where to go, you know all the people I hang out with.” But just like you know, obviously they’re criminals. They’re in there for a reason and then they’re not gonna be your friend... Like I would be coming into a unit and then the inmate would be like “...that package that you said you were gonna bring in for me never came” and they would try to put you

in these awkward positions just for that internal conflict. Just to mess with anything right? 'Cause it's their entertainment ...it's how they get through their day. It's just make someone else's life as miserable as yours is at the moment. (CO1)

The officer viewed this threatening language as a form entertainment for the inmates to help them get through their day. Another officer stated, without any mention of new officers, that "it's just constant belittling and threatening, intimidation ... bullying" that is done towards officers and other inmates (CO7). Racist remarks made by inmates in reference to the correctional officers were noted by the following officer:

I found that a lot of the Inuk inmates, I can only speak for me, they tended to always fall back on white bitch, white cunt, you stole my job, you're taking my jobs. And when I tried to ask them how that wasn't a form of racism, it was very very much just "oh it's not racism 'cause you're white." (CO3)

Participants discussed how inmates at BCC did not communicate well with Inuit correctional officers because they saw them as traitors and they expected favours from the officers. One participant stated that the inmates at BCC were "brutal to the Inuit staff because they call them "wanna-be police" [and] expect favours and stuff" (CO6). Another officers stated:

It's a hit and miss. Sometimes they receive more retaliatory behaviour or being seen as traitor for their own kind and are being kinda isolated and then by that what ensues is that they don't do their job properly or are in fear of that. (CO5)

In contrast, correctional officers who worked at NWCC expressed how the female inmates generally communicated "pretty well" and they were open to communicating with staff. One participant noted that inmates at NWCC interacted more positively with Inuit correctional officers because they could understand their jokes better:

They would have longer conversations. They would joke around more. Because you know, their culture, they have funny jokes that maybe we don't understand. And I would always have them explain it to me in English and it wouldn't translate fully. They had their certain card games that they would play that I had never heard of before but it's big up there. Definitely they already had a foot in the door of like relating to them on that level so obviously they were closer in a sense. (CO2)

### Inmate Behaviour

In addition to communication, many participants discussed their perceptions of inmates' behaviour within the facilities. Inmate behaviour at NWCC and Makigiarvik was often discussed in comparison to the inmates at BCC. One participant explained how inmates at NWCC and BCC banded together against non-Inuit staff. This participant noted:

Well they're all bros in the men's jail and the staff are all enemies. So depending on if you give them what they want in the men's jail, they'll be nice to you. But they treat each other almost with a brother code because most of the inmates are Inuit and most of the staff are foreign to Nunavut, as in White, French, just any other culture that's not Inuit they bound together against. The foreigner mentality if you will. And same within the women's. The women are quite as racist as the men. They're much more accepting of your help but at the same time, they band together way more in that we don't understand but we have way more Inuit staff at the women's. There's three Inuit staff. Usually one was working at all times and then we did have an Inuit Warden. So just a different mentality in regards to culture, but still they were racist when they felt the need to be, depending on who was working. (CO6)

In the above statement, the participant perceives that the inmates at NWCC and BCC used culture as a way to unite with each other and make racist remarks towards non-Inuit officers. The participant suggests that the situation was heightened at BCC since “most of the staff are foreign to Nunavut.”

Inmate behaviour at Makigiarvik was also compared to BCC. After asking a participant to compare the programs offered in the two facilities, he began to answer by comparing the inmates between the facilities:

P: Oh it's like day and night. Well when I [worked at] BCC I'd also [work at] Makigiarvik and there's been times when I'd be at BCC and I'd be stressed out, going back and forth, putting out fires and then next thing you know I go to do my check at Makigiarvik and just walk in the building and pass by an inmate, and “hi how are you!” ... Whereas you walk in the other building and their like “hey F u, this F'in guy again.” It's a totally different attitude.

I: And what kind of inmates go to Makigiarvik?

P: The best of the best (laughing)... Makigiarvik, [if] you put a guy that's in there for life over there, I mean his chances of escape are a lot greater, his chances of assault on staff are a lot great. His chances of pretty much anything is a lot greater. You need to keep that building quiet. (CO4)

The officer expressed how the attitude of inmates at Makigiarvik was better and described them as “the best of the best.” It was also expressed how the setup of the building would make it unable to house more dangerous offenders as Makigiarvik was intended to be kept quiet. Another participant explained how the setup of the building gave inmates an incentive to behave well because they did not want to go back to BCC:

They seem to be better behaved at Makigiavik because they don't wanna go back to BCC. 'Cause the quality of living in the two centres is quite a bit different. So when they get out there and they fit in there, they really don't want to come back to BCC. (CO7)

Similar to the setup of the building having an impact on inmate behaviour, participants also discussed that staff behaviour had an impact on that way inmates behaved. More specifically, it was explained that inmates responded negatively towards officers who were "power tripping" and taking a "militant" approach:

The inmates definitely responded more negatively to the officers who were power tripping. They'd become way more aggressive and angry. Where if it's somebody timid, they're not likely to get angry, they're more likely to laugh and bully. (CO6)

I found that the officers who were very militant, and very uncaring, and very like "I don't care about you" attitude had zero respect from the inmates and the most problems. (CO3)

Above, correctional officer 6 suggests that inmates also behaved negatively when an officer was viewed as timid because it gave an opportunity for the inmate to bully the officer. With the "timid" officers, it was believed that inmates would try to get extra benefits from them (CO4):

...[T]here's a lot of bullies and there's a lot of heavy's in the facility that are, you know, trying to get the younger guys or overpower the new guys to do stuff whether it's bringing contraband or help them even just to hold their contraband for them, to shove weapons down for them for their own internal protection, I guess you could say. (CO4)

In addition to pressuring other inmates to bring in contraband, inmates would also pressure visitors such as their spouses to bring in contraband (CO7)

Participants generally perceived inmates at BCC as behaving aggressively towards correctional officers. Although there was a power struggle between inmates, it was explained

that much of the overall aggression was directed towards the staff. One participant noted a data analysis from 2010 to 2015 in BCC which suggested that inmates had become more violent toward the officers:

During my time as a correctional officer, I was involved with the health and safety committee where we created risk assessments and also-, I did one from 2010 to 2015 and then compared this data on every year basis and saw the increase of violence that shifted from between themselves towards officers. We started, I believe, don't quote me precisely on the numbers but....it started in the range between 15 to 16 percent from 2010 to 2011 that on any violent occurrence within the facility, the violence was targeted towards officer on a 15 to 16% basis. That data went from increments exponentially doubled every year up until 2015...[when] officers were subjected to violence nearly 36% of the time. That's quite the ascension. (CO5)

Although the officer noted that the numbers should not be taken at face value, the takeaway point here is that inmate violence towards the officers was perceived to be increasing in BCC.

Despite correctional officers' negative reaction to the behaviour of inmates at BCC, many officers saw the inmates as not to blame for their behaviour. As one officer stated:

To be honest, I don't blame any of the behaviours of the offenders. Actually I don't blame them at all because they're the direct result of what they're being subjected or subdued to due to the inadequate training, inadequate programming, inadequate housing quality, being deprived of certain rights that they should be allowed to. I don't blame them at all. (CO5)

In this excerpt, the participant touches on many categories that were perceived as inadequate. One of these categories is programming.

## Defining Rehabilitation

Before describing how officers perceived the rehabilitation programs, it is important to first present how correctional officers defined the notion of rehabilitation. Many participants viewed rehabilitation as a way for inmates to work on areas that need improvement so that they can stay out of prison after they are released. One participant explained that rehabilitation is about locating a weakness and creating a solution:

I would say rehabilitation is, I mean, there's a lot of ways to go about it. But I find it's about locating a weakness, you could say, a sickness, it could be anything, and just isolating it and then taking a problem and creating a solution. Rehabilitation can go from mental, physical, emotional, all across the board... (CO1)

Another participant talked about 'breaking the cycle' of toxic behaviour by having the individual removed from the environment that perpetuates that behaviour and then providing giving the tools to prevent that behaviour from re-occurring when the individual is released back into the community:

To restore that person's health and restore their ability to function in a healthy way. Either it's alcohol, drugs, abusive relationships, breaking that kinda cycle. I think you have to take that person out of their environment but then prepare them how to use the tools that they learned in the jail, back at their home where that toxic stuff is there again. They're great when they're in the facility because you don't have any of that around but our goal is to prepare them to have the tools to work on it outside of there (CO2)

Giving inmates the "tools" and teaching them how to use them was something stated by many participants when defining rehabilitation. It was also felt that it is necessary to use different



methods of rehabilitation in order to make sure the inmates receive the tools they really need.

One officer stated:

How I would define rehabilitation is just using any means necessary, whether it'd be therapy, counselling, different types of programs, anything to help an individual work on themselves and get better in whatever issue that they're having. Giving them the tools and the availability to get better and overcome their problem. (CO3)

Reintegration was discussed as the main goal of rehabilitation so that inmates "can get along better with every day living" and there not return to the facility (CO4).

One officer presented a different perspective on the definition of rehabilitation by raising multiple questions. He explained that the following questions need to be answered in order to have a clear definition of rehabilitation when it comes to Nunavut Corrections:

What are you trying to rehabilitate? Are you trying to rehabilitate someone due to decades of oppression? Is that his fault because he was victimized? Or are you trying to rehabilitate them because you think that the way that we're living in Montreal, Toronto, or Vancouver is better than the way that Iqaluit does? I think that we have no place to pose that judgement... Is [the behaviour] beneficial for the individual as a single entity? Is it beneficial as a community? Is it beneficial as a whole culture? (CO5)

### Programming Within Facilities

Participants were asked whether, how, and to what extent they felt the programs in the facilities helped rehabilitate inmates. Positive responses were rare when it came to discussing rehabilitation programs - the general consensus was that programming was not meeting the needs of the inmates throughout all the adult facilities. One participant noted that a big contributor to recidivism for the male offenders was because of the inadequate and lack of programming in

Makigiarvik and BCC (CO6). All of the correctional officers expressed that programming in BCC was inadequate and failing. One participant discussed how the classroom was not used to its full potential and the gym was completely taken out; I mean they have like a what they call a classroom which is- it's not really, it's not much to it ... there was a gymnasium which I think they just took away. They took it out of the building" (CO1). It was discussed that the classroom was used as a workout station and the gym was completely removed in order for renovations to begin for the bigger facility (FN10).

Participants suggested that drug and alcohol counselling be mandatory because it was stated that a lot of the inmates' problems stem from substance abuse. However, officers also expressed that the programs should be "tailor-made" so that they meet the specific needs of each individual:

... [E]ven just the basics, like there's a lot of uneducated inmates that don't even know how to read and write. Well, why can't we have classes for Inuktitut learning inside the facility? Or even just how to print or write their name in English, or just basic classes that I think they're missing out on. (CO4)

Many participants explained that one way to attend to the specific needs of each individual is for inmates to have a lot more one-on-one interactions with case workers *and* facilitators.

An officer from NWCC expressed how management was "just throwing any kind of programs that waste time" and gave the example of an elder coming in to talk to the inmates but it always led to a fight which made things worse than better (CO2). This participant also discussed that the inmates would learn to cook meals that were not practical for them to make at home, "whether it's high cost or foods that they don't eat." The officer expressed that there is a

need to re-evaluate programs and increase the frequency of successful run programs such as clam digging.

Some of the blame on why rehabilitation programming was failing was put on the inmates. It was expressed that some inmates cannot be rehabilitated “‘cause they don’t want to be fixed” (CO7), and that many of them only attended programming to look good for court, not because they wanted to change.

Participants also gave some positive responses regarding rehabilitation programs within the facilities. The one participant who worked at Isumaqsunnngittukkuvik Youth Facility explained that the programming in the facility was “really awesome:”

I find the young offenders facility in Nunavut, in Iqaluit, ...is really awesome. They offer the youth a lot of great programs. A lot of the officers in there are just amazing at their jobs. They really do have amazing programming and they’re always trying to be creative and really keeping up with those kids. I honestly think that that facility is amazing. (CO3)

Although this participant did not get into detail of the programs offered in the young offenders facility, the conclusion was that the programming in the facility was successful. In terms of specific programs, the Town Crew program at BCC and Makigiarvik was discussed as being run successfully. A benefit of this program was that it gave inmates the opportunity to learn skills which would allow them to get employment after they got released (CO3). However, it was noted that the program was only offered to a small number of inmates because it was “reserved for the more respected inmates” (CO1). One participant talked about how the inmates at NWCC would go for a walk around the community every Friday:

They’d get out of the jail and go to the library and get a book or a movie and rent it for the week. Every Friday we would do that. Even for Christmas, we would take them to the

work track and go show them all the Christmas lights around town. Considering they were incarcerated, they did have a lot of quote, “freedom,” I guess. (CO2)

### Culturally Sensitive Programming

When asked about the role of Inuit culture in rehabilitation programs, correctional officers acknowledged that implementing Inuit culture in the programs was important but stayed consistent with the thought of having programs geared towards an individual’s needs. As one officer stated:

So I think in any rehabilitation program, it’s extremely important to gear it toward the individual. So if that individual would resonate a lot with cultural programming, cultural beliefs, if that would help them heal and help them get better, absolutely. However, if there’s other tools that they need that aren’t necessarily specific to a culture but they’re just specific to human behaviour, then that’s also needed (CO3)

When describing rehabilitation programs in regard to Inuit culture, the two officers who worked at NWCC discussed the sewing and crafts program. One of the officers stated:

And then we had another elder who came in for just sewing and crafts which was way better because that got their mind off something. They would be happy because they accomplished a pair of mitts or a parka or whatever it was. So that was a really good program ‘cause then they can use these tools outside the jail and actually maybe make money off of making mitts and that’s positive. (CO2)

Gender-specific traditional practices extended over to Makigiavik as the men there were able to participate in the carving program. This was viewed by the participants as successful but the program was only limited to the inmates in Makigiavik. The Inuit Culture Skills Program (ICSP) was the most referenced program when asked about Inuit-specific programming. ICSP

was a program where elders would take the inmates out on the land to hunt, clam dig, and engage in traditional land activities. One participant described ICSP as the only positive program. Similar to the lack of access that the carving program presented, it was expressed that ICSP was not available to many inmates. As one officer stated:

ICSP it's called; Inuit Culture Skills Program. But again, that's a limited amount of people that can do that. Not all of them are culturally aware. The younger guys, they don't hunt, they don't fish, they play video games, right. They bought 4 playstations for Makigiarvik for Christmas. (CO7)

The participant here touches on the generational gap that was expressed earlier. Additionally, one participant stated that it is good to have a mixture of Western and Inuit programs:

I think it's good to have a mix of both 'cause just one or the other might not necessarily help altogether. Especially if they want to get a job and it has nothing to do with cultural things like hunting or making parkas, whatever it is. (CO2)

#### Programming After Release - Reintegration into The Community

Correctional officers believed that reintegration programs in the jails were lacking. Further, they believed that the inmates received no help in the community after they got released from the facility, perpetuating a "revolving door," such that inmates were going in and out of the facilities:

...[T]hey say goodbye and they're back one week later because they messed up. And because they don't have the right tools to succeed and they just go back to the same crap they did before. And its just like alright once you're done you're given a cab voucher to go home and you have to start from scratch. You have zero dollars, you have nothing. So they're gonna go for the easy way out. But I feel they need to break that, just be like you

know what, you can do the easy way but that's not gonna be the long-term solution.

(CO1)

In addition to not receiving organizational help, it was expressed how once inmates were released to the community, they were oppressed and isolated by community members which made it even more difficult for them to integrate. One participant explained that the lack of integration assistance meant “they either come back to jail or commit a more serious crime ... or they end up dying due to suicide or get killed” (CO5). Some former inmates try to move to a different community so that they do not go back to the same environment where they engaged in criminal behaviour. It was explained that going to a new community is a challenge because they get stuck with no job and “do something stupid” for money which causes them to go back into the facility (CO7). Participants recommended that there be regular check-ins after inmates are released to the community in order to prevent them from re-offending.

## **Chapter Six: Perceptions of Nunavut Officials**

This chapter discusses how Nunavut officials perceived the state of rehabilitation within the territory. As explained in the methodology chapter, three officials were interviewed and there were a number of additional officials who knew about my research and were happy to share their knowledge in more casual conversations. These additional officials include Members of the Legislative Assembly of Nunavut at the Constituency and Ministry levels. While the majority of the data and all of the quotes presented in this chapter come from the formal interviews, perspectives shared through casual conversations - as recorded in my fieldnotes - are also included.

### **Rehabilitation Within Facilities**

Participants were asked to talk about the rehabilitation of inmates within Nunavut Corrections. One participant praised the way the Rankin Inlet Healing Facility was run in respect to rehabilitation, noting “the planning that went into the healing facility there and [the] strong emphasis on having land programming...[and] more of a community feel to the place and activities and things... (NO1). Further, the participant discussed how the land program was a form of “healthy reintegration” because it allowed inmates the opportunity to give back to the community by engaging in activities such as cleaning playgrounds.

Nunavut officials expressed the importance of learning skills. Similar to correctional officers explaining that the needs of each inmate need to be addressed, it was suggested that learning skills need to be specific to what the needs of the inmates are. When asked if programs needed to implement more Inuit cultural values and practices, one official stated that “need” “depends what you want to aim for.... every Nunavummiut has to have almost a dual background within their own minds of what’s culturally appropriate and sensitive and then

what's needed societally" (NO2). The notion of "dual background" refers to the mixture of traditional Inuit culture and Western practices that have been implemented within Nunavut. One theme that was evident in the views of officials stressed the importance of incorporating traditional Inuit culture and practices into rehabilitative programming:

I think that Inuit culture has a very different approach. There is more of a lack of judgement and more observation. I just think there's a sense of calm; an elder comes in. You know, they're building something. Or when they're out on the land, there's this calm and lack of hostility. And I think that must be so good for the soul. I would think that kind of programs that reinforce who a person is at their core, it connects them with that culture. It's very important. (NO1)

When highlighting the importance traditional practices for rehabilitation, 'learning about the land' (NO2) and 'healing the soul' (FN6) were common themes. Speaking Inuit languages was also discussed as something 'good for the soul.'

Another official discussed how excited people were when Makigiavik opened and recalled the time when she was given the opportunity to view the building. The participant noted:

... I know how excited people were when they started to work at [Makigiavik] ... It was just like, everybody, regardless of background; "This is something that's so good" ... we had a tour and- there was an older- elder then who was out carving and I got to talk to him for a little bit... I was just like "he gets to carve. (NO1)

This quote demonstrates the excitement people had when Makigiavik opened because it represented hope and a step in the right direction for Corrections. The carving program was used as an example to drive the notion that things were improving.



Culture remained a major theme among officials. Similar to Correctional Officer 1 having noted that every community had its own culture *and* dialect, one official echoed this statement and explained how it created a challenge in implementing more culturally sensitive programming. This participant stated:

There's no like standard Inuktitut, or Inuinnaqtun or anything like that. It's very hard to come across like a standardized version. I know that there are certain groups that are trying to achieve that kinda standardization when it comes to language. But many communities have their own dialects. Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun are completely separate almost. So understating [that] can get confounded or obfuscated a little bit. So that's definitely like, just communication is a challenge. Another challenge is the societal disconnect that we have between communities. So, people from the different communities have almost different cultural backgrounds. And so accounting for all of them again is a little bit difficult. (NO2)

In addition to the disconnect between communities in Nunavut, this participant also stated that “there is a disconnect of the main Inuit society towards broader Canada.” The participant explained that because the average Canadian is not exposed to Inuit culture prior to arriving in Nunavut, they are unable to connect with the Inuit. The participant noted:

They kinda have to learn as they go and there's no real-. We hire someone from down south, here's like your Inuit training sensitivity program. Does not exist. So there's no programs to bridge cultural divide and you just see divides between all points of the culture. And it would really need to have a careful analytical approach to kind of navigate through all that. (NO2)

Similar to Official 2 having explained that the needs of the inmates extended to current societal practices, another participant explained that rehabilitation and reintegration programs do not necessarily need to implement traditional Inuit values and practices. This participant noted:

Times have changed so Inuit no longer live nomadically so there isn't a way to incorporate truly traditional into this Western imposed [justice] style, but we can't go back to what we once were. And so the key then is to try to modify what system we have started with now in more modern times and try incorporate more of those Inuit values. In that way, I think, again, we are making some strides but the difficulty in this context is also infrastructure. (NO3)

The participant, who is Inuk, clearly stated that Inuit cannot go back to the way things were before as Nunavut now has a Western imposed justice style and incorporating truly traditional practices is difficult. Instead, the participant calls for the merger of "Inuit values" with the "modern times," a mix of the old with the new. Another official provided examples of how the Western justice system imposed in Nunavut differs from traditional Inuit values (NO1). The official explained that inmates are given clothes and food whereas in traditional culture, the wrongdoers would be shunned and forced to fend for themselves.

### Rehabilitation Outside the Facilities

It was explained by officials that there is a great lack of rehabilitation and reintegration outside the correctional facilities, pre and post incarceration. One official explained that the government needs to create safe places for people who need support to go and feel welcomed:

I think that there is a huge need to provide better support, kinda preventative measures, help people to engage socially instead of just sit outside of North Mart or whatever to

really have meaningful engagement with one another and a place to go that's warm and things to do. (NO1)

The participant also explained that the new built Aquatic Centre does not help these individuals because it costs money and "if you haven't grown up swimming, you're not gonna know how to swim so to go into a place like that can be intimidating." The participant further explained that the Inuit who need help, want "a place where maybe there's a couch, maybe a computer, maybe a place where [they] can have coffee" and gave the example of many who go to Tim Hortons and North Mart because "it's warm and they have a place to go to." It was further explained that released inmates go back to the same environment with no help and engage in a harmful pattern. The participant stated:

[T]hey're right back out to where there's access to all of the things that they may self-medicate with, alcohol and drugs and all of that and then they're back into it. A pattern that's going to be harmful. I think all those things are interconnected and I think we have to provide a lot more funding. (NO1)

Officials talked about how communities throughout Nunavut had very limited rehabilitation and reintegration programs, with some communities having no programs at all. As one MLA expressed, this situation made it very difficult, and in some cases impossible, for released offenders to fulfill the condition of their probation orders that required them to attend programs (FN12). Furthermore, it was explained that there was a massive shortage of staff in the remote communities where even if more programs existed, there would not be enough professionals to run them. One participant explained that even training and educating Nunavummiut won't necessarily fix the problem, especially in remote communities, because they "won't come back and work within that environment" (NO2). Another participant expressed the distance, different

time zones, and cost of travel makes it difficult to provide support to remote communities (NO3).

The participant further noted:

[W]ithin Justice and Corrections, the clients in our facilities are in only 3 communities.

Iqaluit, Kugluktuk, and Rankin Inlet...but they come from all of the communities. And in the communities, there's maybe a probation officer and the probation officer is busy with appointments. So how do you liaise with other community partners when you're fully engaged in your day-to-day duties? Policy and programs are handled mainly at a headquarters or regional headquarter sites so it's very difficult to kind of address some of those gaps just because of our logistics. (NO3).

### Recommendations

All officials who I spoke with provided recommendations on how attending to the needs of the inmates and Nunavummiut outside the facilities can be improved. A prevalent theme that emerged from recommendations surrounded that topic of academic research. An official at the Minister level explained that research should be supported by the government, especially when it is free (FN12). Another official expressed that the barriers of entry are "just too high" and recommended that Nunavut open up research paths for students. The participant stated:

The best and cheapest way though would be just to open up to students doing research... to do things like literature reviews to find out exactly what might have been done already and you know.... Let the people who are interested come and help you start something to figure it out. Something solid, something that has like an institutional backing behind it rather than just the continuous cycle of audits and promises. 'Cause it's just, it's not working. It's not working and it's hard to see that it's not working 'cause nothing is

recorded properly, but you can just look at the state of things and it's not sustainable at the current- (NO2)

Many officials, including the ones who were not interviewed, explained that the Department of Justice alone cannot address criminal behaviour and recommended that all departments need to work together to provide better rehabilitation services. As one participant explained:

[Rehabilitation] is not something that Corrections alone, Community Justice alone, Courts alone, or even Justice alone can be responsible for the, held accountable solely to. It takes a lot more than that. There's a lot of mental health, health, food security, poverty, all of these other areas that need to come together to provide the best possible foundation for rehabilitation. (NO3)

A final recommendation that was made is to educate and train Inuit to be in leading roles within the Government of Nunavut. One official explained that there was an Inuk woman who went through the teachers' education program and is now the president of the Nunavut Arctic College. This official expressed that they are pleased it is not "somebody that's going to impose a structure because this is what worked in whatever place they came from. It's that openness to other people's ideas; not imposing" (NO1).

## **Chapter Seven: Analysis**

In this analysis chapter, I address the lack of training for correctional staff, the lack of research on rehabilitation programs, the disconnect between organizational leaders and staff, and the cultural and generational differences that exist amongst Inuit and have implications for rehabilitation programming. Although these themes appear to depart from the initial focus of the research questions, they provide an important context for understanding participants' perceptions about the state of rehabilitation and reintegration programs within the Division of Corrections in Nunavut.

### **Lack of Training**

A prevalent theme that emerged from the participants was that correctional officer training was lacking. In the 2016-17 Division of Corrections annual report, the Government of Nunavut (2017) outlines correctional officer training and states that it is provided to all officers, consisting of indeterminate, casual, and relief. The document provides a breakdown of the training courses offered and a description is included for each course (p. 16-18). Nunavut Healing and Learning Together (NUHALT), Mental Health First Aid (MHFA) for Northern Peoples, and Inuit Cultural Orientation Training are highlighted as the main training courses, with the remaining nine courses having a brief one-sentence description under the subheading 'Additional Training.' There is no mention as to whether the training takes place prior to employment or after employment has begun, how often each training course is offered, how long it takes for one officer to have completed all the courses, or what is required of the officers to pass each course.

Given the nature of 'shadow shift' training as reportedly is currently the case, it is presumed that this training takes place prior to when new hires are given the title of correctional

officer. Even though the policy states that ten shadow shifts are mandatory (Government of Nunavut, 2017, p. 18), participants expressed that this was not always the case, with some new hires receiving keys and a uniform well before their tenth shadow shift was completed. Additionally, it was expressed that shadow shift training was the only type of training officers received prior to working in the facility and there was a consensus that shadow shifts were not enough to prepare officers for the job, with phrases such as “winging it” and “thrown into the gauntlet” describing how officers learned to work in the facilities. Additionally, the performance report by The Office of the Auditor General of Canada (2015) that focused on addressing whether the Nunavut Department of Justice was meeting its key responsibilities for inmates, discovered that correctional staff members had been working in facilities without training in first aid, mental health issues, the criminal justice system, or the proper use of force and it was noted that half of the correctional officers had been trained to date, with the other half expected to be fully trained within two years (p.25). It appears that this expectation was not fulfilled, as the participants interviewed in this report, some of whom had worked well into 2017, explained that some officers had not received any training for numerous months after having started employment and training was offered very sporadically and only to “select staff.”

The infrequency of training was noted by participants, with one officer having described the courses as “fly-by assessments” because of how quickly they come and go. In giving a breakdown of the training provided, the annual report (Government of Nunavut, 2017) includes the length of most training courses. These courses range from eight to thirty hours which are presumed to be one to four days. Since the length of some courses is not specified, it is difficult to know precisely how many days of training are offered. Based on the information provided in the report, it is assumed that there are to be between twenty-three and thirty in-class training days

for correctional officers, excluding supervisor training. In comparison, Correctional Service Canada (CSC) offers roughly three months of in-class training in addition to six to eight weeks of online training (Correctional Service Canada, 2018) while the Ontario Ministry of Community Safety and Correctional Services (2018) offers two months of in-class training in addition to the online training given several weeks prior. The Northwest Territories, a territory that is the most similar to Nunavut in land and population, had difficulties filling entry-level vacancies for Correctional Officers so they developed a six-week in-class training program in 2009 for correctional officers which is still run to this day (Government of the Northwest Territories, 2011; Government of the Northwest Territories; 2018). Although other correctional organizations provide significantly more training than Nunavut Corrections, it is the timing of training that is most prevalent. Correctional Officers in Nunavut do not receive any training prior to shadow shifts and the training they do receive is done very sporadically throughout their employment, so that many officers have completed no training, or only some training, for several months, until they wait their turn to be offered the remaining courses.

With respect to the type of training offered, Nunavut Corrections is to incorporate Nunavut-specific and cultural teachings into their training. The 2016-17 Division of Corrections annual report states that the vision of Corrections in Nunavut is to have a workforce “inclusive of Inuit Societal Values, representative of the people of Nunavut supporting public safety, and offering innovative, culturally relevant programming for the guidance and supervision of Nunavummiut in conflict with the law” (Government of Nunavut, 2017, p. 5). Since the formation of Nunavut in 1999, the government has been guided by Inuit Societal Values which consist of eight principles:

- (a) *Inuuqatigiitsiarniq* (respecting others, relationships and caring for people);
- (b) *Tunnganarniq* (fostering good spirit by being open, welcoming and inclusive);



- (c) *Pijitsirniq* (serving and providing for family or community, or both);
  - (d) *Aajiqatigiinni* (decision making through discussion and consensus);
  - (e) *Pilimmaksarniq or Pijariuqsarniq* (development of skills through practice, effort and action);
  - (f) *Piliriqatigiinni or Ikajuqatigiinni* (working together for a common cause);
  - (g) *Qanuqtuurniq* (being innovative and resourceful); and
  - (h) *Avatittinnik Kamatsiarniq* (respect and care for the land, animals and the environment).
- Government of Nunavut (2013, p. 4)

One program that is said to incorporate Inuit Societal Values is Nunavut Healing and Learning Together (NUHALT) which focuses on communication and collaborative interaction with the inmates while taking their culture into consideration (*ibid*, p. 16). More specifically, module one of NUHALT “focuses on building respectful relationships and reducing conflict” while module two provides “tools and practices for interacting with inmates who have cognitive and behavioural issues caused by substance abuse, FASD, or trauma” (p. 16). In these two modules, it is explained that Inuit Societal Values are incorporated by developing communication and case management skills through mentoring and practice (*pilimmaksarniq/pijariuqsarniq*), training to learn skills that will reduce conflict and stress in their jobs (*piliriqatigiinni/ikajuqatigiinni*), learning to build respectful relationships with inmates (*inuuqatigiitsiarniq*), and spending four days together interacting and sharing (*tunnganarniq*) (p. 16). As explained in Chapter 4, participants discussed NUHALT module three; their discussions did not address NUHALT one and two. When they were asked if they received any Inuit cultural training, the overwhelming majority stated that they had not. It may be that these participants had not received NUHALT training or that they did not view it as significantly incorporating Inuit values. Another reason may be that participants interpreted ‘Inuit culture’ as strictly primordial – that is, subsistence hunting and food sharing, naming and the experience of kin ties, language use and storytelling,

and the transmission of traditional values (Searles, 2008). The interpretation of Inuit culture will be discussed further in the chapter.

Participants noted that about 10% of correctional staff were Inuit. In an attempt to have more Inuit government representatives, Article 23 of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement was formed, which states: “The objective of this Article is to increase Inuit participation in government employment in the Nunavut Settlement Area to a representative level” (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2010, p. 191). A ‘representative level’ refers to “a level of Inuit employment within Government reflecting the ratio of Inuit to the total population in the Nunavut Settlement Area” (*ibid*, p. 191). The Division of Corrections stated that in an effort to remove systemic barriers and meet the objective of Article 23, the Division “removed some educational requirements from job descriptions and focused on more ‘on-the-job training’” (Government of Nunavut, 2016, p. 9). One participant discussed that a high school diploma is no longer mandatory to work as a correctional officer or a correctional case officer so that beneficiaries can have a better chance to get hired and meet the objective of Article 23 (FN8). It appears that the effects of Article 23 were felt when the initial indeterminate correctional case officer positions for Makigliarvik were posted. There were so few Inuit who met the educational criteria of having a high school diploma that the hiring process was reset, this time with the minimum education level being a grade nine (FN8). It appears that reducing the requirements however may not have had a significant impact in creating a representative level of employment within corrections. Correctional officers explained that Inuit officers were often bullied by inmates because they were seen as traitors, and that bullying, along with the awareness of conflict that can arise from having a personal relationship with inmates, discouraged Inuit from seeking employment in correctional facilities. Although there has been a reduction in

requirements, the Division of Corrections recently added a written test component in the application process consisting of basic knowledge and situational questions in order to hire more adequate officers (FN12). Thus, the Division of Corrections finds itself in a difficult situation as it tries to adhere to Article 23 *and* hire the most suitable candidates for correctional work.

Many participants referred to the lack of training as having an impact on rehabilitation, inmate-staff communication, consistency, and the tension that exists between inmates and staff. One participant expressed that training is important because it is parallel and paramount to the efficiency of the operation of correctional facilities (CO5). As one correctional officer stated, “when something happened, how do we defuse the situation without training, without keeping us safe first?” (COGD). Lack of training therefore may be a key contributor to the increased aggressive behaviour of inmates and can even provide us with an explanation as to why Baffin Correctional Centre has experienced a number of major disturbances in recent years, including inmates setting fires and causing a riot (CBC News, 2014; CBC News, 2018b; Strong, 2017). It is important to note that training is not identified as the sole reason for major disturbances and riots. Research suggests that it is a combination of factors that lead to such events (Boin & Duin, 1995; Boin & Rattray, 2004; Office of the Correctional Investigator, 2017), including lack of training (Tartaro, 2012). Major disturbances appear to be related to the inability to respond to legitimate concerns and grievances from inmates (Office of the Correctional Investigator, 2017, p. 31), frequency of disruptions in normal routine such as lockdowns (*ibid*, p. 35), inhumane conditions (Lombardo, 1999) and not attending to programming needs (Office of the Correctional Investigator, 2017). It is then, perhaps not surprising, that major disturbances continue to occur in BCC. Inmates’ concerns are not addressed (CBC News, 2018a; Office of the Correctional Investigator, 2013), there are inhumane conditions (Office of the Correctional

Investigator, 2013) and the programming needs are perceived by participants as close to nonexistent. Notwithstanding these concerns, the Director of Corrections states that such events occur at BCC solely because of the physical features of the institution's structure (Murray, 2018a). In light of prior research, this view - that the structure of the facility is a panacea for major disturbances - seems too simplistic and must be approached with caution. Although it is correct that other facilities in Nunavut do not experience such events, it is also worth noting that those facilities house minimum- and some medium-security inmates.

### Critiquing the Leaders

Another factor discussed as a contributor to major prison disturbances is the disconnect between management and front-line officers (Boin and Rattray, 2004). Correctional officers interviewed expressed their displeasure with management as they felt like there was no support for officers' physical and mental well being, that there was no communication between the two parties, and that management was engaging in nepotism right up to the director level. Boin and Rattray's (2004) discussion surrounding the 'pathological prison administration' draws many similarities to the critique of leaders by participants. The pathological prison administration has two defining characteristics. The first one being:

...[A] rift has developed between organizational leaders and staff; an 'appreciative gap' separates the front office from the cell blocks. This gap is widened when leadership strategies to deal with change do not match staff perceptions of the appropriateness of the proposed measures. As dissension between higher and lower-level staff develops, grievances among the uniformed staff mount. Exuberant optimism at the strategic level ('we're on the right track') fuels the perception among staff that their leaders do not

understand the ‘real problems’ at hand. Irritation with staff’s resistance to implement leadership visions exacerbates the tension.” (Boin and Rattray, 2004, p. 52)

Participants felt that management does not listen to correctional officers and even when they ask for advice, management just does whatever it wants. One officer stated that “it’s disheartening to guys who have a lot of experience. We just give up on management” (CO7). This is consistent with what Boin and Rattray (2004) present when discussing how staff perceptions of the appropriateness of proposed measures do not match those of management. Nunavut officials’ exuberant optimism with respect to the effectiveness of programming was also critically assessed by participants. One officer expressed that department heads go on public record in the Legislative Assembly and say that there is great programming and things are going well but once you start digging “you can clearly see that there’s a complete dysfunction in the system” (CO5).

The second characteristic of the pathological prison administration that Boin and Rattray (2004) present is that the organization has lost its ability to observe signals that something is wrong and use their authority to reinforce a closed view of the world and discourage criticism (p. 52). Nunavut Corrections exemplified this characteristic when it censored a report by the Office of the Correctional Investigator (OCI) (Crawford, 2014; Office of the Correctional Investigator of Canada, 2013). The OCI conducted a review of “BCC’s infrastructure and functionality through a human rights lens” and provided “strategic advice to Nunavut Corrections on its legal and policy framework” (p. 2). The report recommended that BCC be closed and replaced by a new facility or facilities and that the Nunavut Corrections Act and Regs be modernized (p. 16). The 33-page report was not released by Nunavut and it only supplied a cover page, two exterior photos of the facility, and six pages where information was blacked out (Crawford, 2014). The Deputy Minister of Justice at the time explained that information was protected by solicitor-

client privilege and could facilitate inmate escapes. The Office of the Information and Privacy Commissioner of Nunavut saw these reasons as illegitimate and ordered the release of the full report, one year after the report was written (*ibid*). The Office of the Correctional Investigator (2009) states that Corrections nation-wide is about openness, transparency, and accountability and it is important that leaders follow this for improvement to be made. The Division of Corrections in Nunavut has not shown these characteristics. As the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015b) explains, federal, provincial, and territorial governments must meet the framework put into place by United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Canada has endorsed this declaration, which includes the process of public truth sharing of past harms and ongoing legacies of colonialism (*ibid*, p. 125). In sum, the importance of openness, transparency, and accountability cannot be overstated when considering the situation of Inuit inmates and the management of this situation by Nunavut Corrections.

In continuing with the notion that Nunavut Corrections has shown signs of the pathological prison administration, the Office of the Auditor General of Canada (2015) explained that the Department of Justice has been aware of critical deficiencies at its core correctional facility, BCC, since 1996 (p. 5-6). Despite this awareness, the department chose to construct the Rankin Inlet Healing Facility and Makigiarvik which does not address the territory's most critical needs: "the lack of appropriate space (including the need for maximum-security space) and the poor condition of the Baffin Correctional Centre" (p.5). There was no rationale provided to the Office of the Auditor General supporting this approach (p. 5). It is no surprise then that major disturbances continue to occur at BCC. Although there have been federal reports, media sources, and individuals within and outside of corrections critiquing Nunavut Corrections, the Director of Corrections continues to receive yearly bonuses (Driscoll, 2018), including in 2015

when the Office of the Auditor General found that key responsibilities for management of correctional facilities had not been met (Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2015, p. 4).

Further, a number of participants, including a high ranking official at the Ministry level, expressed that there are people in powerful positions within the Division of Corrections who are unqualified to fulfill their job descriptions. The perception was that many professionals are more concerned about keeping their positions than about doing their jobs accordingly. A major critique surrounding the leaders centered on the numerous “acting” positions within Nunavut Corrections. A quick search in the Nunavut Staff Directory shows that the warden, deputy warden, and deputy warden of programs are all “acting,” with many other lower-level positions such as caseworkers and classification officers serving as acting. It is not uncommon for organizations to carry acting positions, but the fact that there is no formal process for an acting position that can last months, and even years (CO7), creates a strong feeling of distrust of management because correctional officers feel like those positions are given based on favouritism rather than on qualifications.

### Lack of Research

Another theme that emerged from participants is the lack of research on the efficacy of Nunavut Corrections. Discussions surrounding research emerged in two themes. First, according to participants, the little research that has been conducted has been done internally. As one participant noted, “they self-review, they self-audit. It’s completely biased and unethical” (CO5, 7). While engaging in participant observations, it was explained to me by a couple of individuals that the Division of Corrections was actually planning to do the same research that I had originally proposed – interview the inmates to get their perspectives on the rehabilitation programs (FN3; FN10). One official informed me that this was one reason why my research was

denied, although this was never communicated to me when attempting to gain access, even after it was clearly stated that the initial research proposal could be adjusted. The hostility shown in the denial of the initial research, coupled with self-research by the Department of Justice, speaks to the defensive stance that the Department has taken. This defensive stance was also displayed with the censorship of the report by the OCI. After what is often described as the golden era of prison research in the mid-twentieth century, the literature shows that prisons have become extremely resistant to academic research since the turn of the century (Reiter, 2014; Thompson, 2010; Wacquant, 2002; Watson, 2015). Nunavut Corrections appears to be no exception to this pattern. Watson (2015) explains the defensive stance behaviour as “reputational risk management” in reference to her attempt to interview CSC employees regarding research about programming and policy around in-prison substance abuse. She was denied access and used her experience with gatekeepers as case study to critically analyze the organizational culture within CSC. She states that:

...[P]reoccupation with risk management narrows the ability to see beyond predefined risk categories, leads to censorship of data that does (sic) not conform to set standards or norms, and therefore curtails development of rational, effective solutions to new problems. Overemphasis on risk management contributes to organizational cultures of blame and fear that also weaken willingness to experiment or critique accepted ways of doing things; complex solutions and long-term goals are dismissed in favour of more pragmatic solutions that can be readily, quantifiably measured (p. 7).

The above excerpt is relevant to the analysis, in this thesis, of some of the decisions made by Nunavut Corrections. The department’s decision to not address a critical need of appropriate space and the poor condition of BCC sooner, speaks to the narrowing of the ability to see beyond



predefined risk categories. This orientation prompted the censorship of the OCI report, and consequently led to the curtailing of development. As described in the above excerpt from Watson, fear was showcased with Nunavut Correction's denial of my research.

The second theme regarding research that participants discussed was the overall lack of it. Nunavut officials who participated in my research expressed that the barriers of entry to conduct research in the Government of Nunavut are too high, specifically in Corrections, and it was recommended that research be welcomed and supported by the government, especially when it is free. According to one official, one of the reasons why academic research is denied is because researchers often talk about how "shitty things are...whether it be a human rights violation or just unacceptable conditions" and management does not want to repeatedly be critiqued (NO2). It was also expressed that Inuit are seen as people to be studied therefore it is difficult to know what the researcher's intentions are. An example of the distrust was shown when the Minister of Justice at the time stated that it would be difficult for the department to support "a student who is working on a thesis for their personal benefit." This response came despite this research project having been endorsed by an individual within the Legislative Assembly of Nunavut and people within Corrections who were aware of my past work experience in Nunavut Corrections, and my interest in making contributions that could ultimately benefit inmates. As such, it was my intention to help Nunavut Corrections in an area that had not been researched, to shed light on how Inuit inmates within Nunavut Corrections experienced rehabilitation and their perceptions of what might work.

One participant discussed how the lack of research programs means that there are no performance indicators to say, "hey look, when we did this, this happened" (NO2). Without research on initiatives within Corrections, it is impossible to say 1) to what extent things have

been tried; and 2) to what extent things that have been tried have been successful. There is a ‘feel good’ sense that culturally sensitive programming is a good thing, but there are no data or analyses to support that notion. Without research on this subject - and very importantly, feedback from inmates - it is impossible to answer the question. The roadblocks that I encountered are very important challenges to improving the situation for inmates. When proposed university research is denied due to reputational risk management, and research is exclusively done internally, valuable opportunities for academic inquiry and feedback are lost. Further, there is the potential for common sense assumptions to be accepted as fact, thereby precluding possibilities for change:

A critique does not consist in saying that things aren't good the way they are. It consists in seeing on just what type of assumptions, of familiar notions, of established and unexamined ways of thinking the accepted practices are based... To do criticism is to make harder those acts which are now too easy. (Foucault, 1983, p. 172)

Therefore, this study calls upon the Government of Nunavut to encourage students and other academics to do research in a way that will provide new insights into how improvement can be made for the benefit of Nunavummiut. That is, students who have shown a desire to help, with their own time and limited funds, need to be welcomed with open dialogue and ethically-sound research possibilities.

### Inuit Cultures and Deconstructing the Notion of Culturally Sensitive Programming

With respect to generational differences, participants perceived that technology has had an impact on the younger generation and caused them to lose interest in traditional Inuit values and practices; “The younger guys, they don’t hunt, they don’t fish, they play video games” (CO7). Revisiting the quote by Pauktutiit (2006) on page 7, he states that “despite adopting

various features of modern life and southern culture, many Inuit continue to live according to traditional values” (p. 4). While this assessment may be true, it appears that the rise of social media and other contemporary technological advancements have influenced the younger generation of Inuit, and represent an important way in which the culture has changed: “[The elders] really blame technology, cellphone, ipads, Facebook for the youth not wanting to know their culture” (CO3). These and other forms of contemporary technological advancements extend beyond the Inuit’s use of modern tools such as snowmobiles and oil-burning stoves.

Participants discussed how language has also played a role in the divide between generations in that much of the younger generation does not speak Inuktitut or Inuinnaqtun. The younger generation’s inability to understand and speak Inuit languages has had a tremendous impact on the Inuit society because it hinders the possibility of storytelling. Anderson (2014) emphasizes the importance of storytelling by Indigenous peoples:

[W]e know that storytelling is a collective process; that story has as much to do with the listener as it does with the teller; that the context in which stories are told is critical; that stories are grounded in place/land; and that Indigenous stories often fall upon the “tin ear” of Canadians. (p. 156)

Stories are important because they have been passed through generations and only exist through the act of telling (McCall, 2011, p. 157). Thus, stories carry with them the morals and values of traditional culture and if there is no listener for the story, then those values are lost. Furthermore, in their study of the pathways to health knowledge in Indigenous communities, Smylie et. al (2008) explain that storytelling is an integral component of Inuit health information dissemination and that elders are the foundation of Inuit oral traditions (p. 440). The inter-generational gap within Inuit culture threatens the continuation of storytelling, and if stories were

to disappear, integral traditional Inuit values would also be threatened. While explaining that programs need to meet the individual needs of inmates, one participant suggested that there be Inuktitut learning classes for the inmates (CO4).

Within the discussion of differences among the Inuit, participants explained that each community has its own unique culture; “It’s totally different. From their dialects, the way they speak, to the things that they hunt, to just the way they deal with things. The way they talk, their accents” (CO1, 13). Inuit culture is often described as a monolithic entity, but the data in this research suggest that there is a plurality of cultures. As such, the more accurate way to capture this diversity is to speak about *Inuit cultures*. The varied languages and dialects that exist across Nunavut exemplify the diverse cultures that exist. As Trevethan et al. argued (2004b), rehabilitation programs for inmates need to take into consideration the unique cultural differences between Canada’s Indigenous populations rather than grouping them together (Trevethan et al., 2004b). The same argument can be made for the importance of recognizing the diverse cultures that exist among Inuit inmates.

As stated in Chapter 2, there is a consensus in the literature that culturally sensitive facilities and programs are mandatory for the rehabilitation of Indigenous offenders (Office of the Correctional Investigator, 2009; Ross, 1996; Schiff & Moore, 2006; Stewart et al., 2009; Stewart et al., 2015; Trevethan et al., 2004b; Usher & Stewart 2014; Waldram, 2014). The data overwhelmingly suggest that attending to each inmate’s individual needs is seen as being of paramount importance when it comes to rehabilitation and reintegration programming. As such, programming may very well include Inuit cultures, but it may focus also, or instead, on other types of needs such as getting substance abuse counselling, education and finding employment (Andrews & Bonta, 1998, p. 227). This view raises the question: if some inmates do not want

culturally sensitive programming, should it be imposed upon them? To do so represents a top-down approach that operates on taken-for-granted assumptions about the importance of traditional cultural practices around things like spirituality, carving, sewing, hunting, and practices that may or may not be seen, by inmates, as important. In Burkhardt's (2004) discussions with employees in justice-related positions in Iqaluit, one employee expressed that youth inmates may not like going out hunting and "if we're going to apply Inuit traditional ways you run into problems for somebody who's never really gone hunting before" (p. 156). Another employee addressed the irony of "traditional" programming in a completely culturally-foreign environment that is the prison, stating that "maybe we can think of ways, what is the right thing to do, more so than traditional programming" (*ibid*, p. 156-157). As Burkhardt (2004) put it, these participants placed an emphasis upon the importance of recognizing and implementing what is "useful", not only what was "traditional" (p. 156). Another question is raised here: What is "culturally sensitive" programming? There often is a taken-for-granted understanding that culturally sensitive programming for Inuit inmates represents Inuit culture, which is described as traditional in the literature *and* by the participants in this study. But, there is not a clear definition on what culturally sensitive programming is for Inuit inmates and it is often linked with programs that include being out on the land, hunting, fishing, carving, sewing, interactive with elders, and learning Inuktitut. However, given the diverse cultures that exist among Inuit, it follows that the notion of culturally specific programming for Inuit inmates should be deconstructed to capture such diversity. For example, languages and dialects are distinct between communities, and generational differences that exist between inmates need to be taken into consideration. Participants noted that often the younger generation are not interested in learning about Inuit culture(s) as traditionally defined, for many of these young people have grown up in

a world that combines Inuit culture and Qallunaat (non-Inuit) culture. That world includes contemporary technological advancements that are distant from many aspects of Inuit culture as traditionally conceived. As such, the combination of Inuit cultures and Qallunaat culture have created hybrid cultures in Nunavut. Perhaps this situation is why some Inuit assert that “no Inuit live in Iqaluit,” a city where the combination of these cultures is most prevalent as half its population consists of Qallunaat (Searles, 2008; Searles, 2010). Therefore, when discussing culturally sensitive programming for Inuit inmates, it is very important to be attentive to the cultural differences that exist among Inuit inmates, and to recognize their individual preferences, so that when released they are better prepared to integrate into their respective communities. One reason why the Tupiq model at the Fenbrook Institution is shown to be successful is because it attends to the specific needs of Inuit sexual offenders by focusing on healthy sexuality, abuse awareness, parenting, and relapse prevention (Trevethan et al., 2004a). In keeping with the original intent of my research to foreground the voices of Inuit inmates, the consensus of participants was that rehabilitation should be geared towards the individual inmate and attentive to what each needs and wants in terms of rehabilitation.

#### Risk Need Responsivity (RNR) Model

The Risk Need Responsivity (RNR) model was formalized in Canada in 1990 (Andrews et al., 1990) and is widely regarded as the premier model for guiding the ways in which decisions are made for the assessment and rehabilitation of inmates (Andrews et al., 2011; Bonta & Andrews, 2007). Given the lack of proper housing and rehabilitation programming for maximum-security inmates within Nunavut Corrections, the RNR model may be a framework worth exploring for the assessment and rehabilitation of inmates in Nunavut, as the model has shown successful results for higher risk inmates (Andrews et al., 2006; Andrews et al., 2011).

Additionally, the RNR model appears to show significant reductions in sexual recidivism and it is suggested that the RNR be considered in the rehabilitation of sex offenders (Hanson et al., 2009). Using police-reported data, Statistics Canada (2015b; 2016) reported that northern regions had notably higher rates of sexual assault and sexual violations against children compared to the rest of the country and that 42% of victims in Nunavut who received assistance for violent crime that involved sexual assault incidents. Therefore, the results of the RNR model in assessing and rehabilitating maximum-security inmates and inmates charged with sexually related offences, speak to the importance of the model and its relevance as a framework to guide rehabilitative programming of inmates in Nunavut Corrections.

The RNR model consists of three core principles as noted by Bonta and Andrews (2007):

- 1) The “risk principle” involves the idea that the level of service should be matched to the offender’s risk to re-offend.
- 2) The “need principle” calls for an assessment of criminogenic needs so that these can be targeted in treatment.
- 3) The “responsivity principle” underscores the importance of maximizing the offender’s ability to learn from a rehabilitative intervention by providing cognitive behavioural treatment and tailoring the intervention to the learning style, motivation, abilities and strengths of the offender (p. 1).

Bonta and Andrews (2007) state that the RNR model has contributed to the development of actuarial tools as it uses such tools to assess the risk/need of offender classification. In the its generation – with the consideration of dynamic risk factors – actuarial tools have significantly improved overall predictive accuracy (Zinger, 2004) and have shown to be functional in improving correctional services (Bonta, 1996; Bonta et al., 2001; Rice et al., 2015). The most notable tool to be used is the Level of Supervision Inventory (LSI) (Armstrong & Bourgon, 2001; Wormith, 1997), which applies an empirical evaluation of personality and social psychology of human behaviour (Zinger, 2004). The LSI-OR

(Ontario Revision) assessment has been used to effect change in that there is evidence to suggest that it reduces recidivism rates (Armstrong & Bourgon, 2001).

The risk principle acknowledges that the level of treatment needs to be proportional to the offender's level of re-offending (Bonta and Andrews, 2007, p. 5). In other words, the higher the risk level, the higher the need for rehabilitation programming to reduce recidivism. This approach appears to be contrary to what happens in Nunavut Corrections as BCC, the only facility that holds maximum-security inmates, was viewed by participants as having the least amount of programming, with the gymnasium being closed and the classroom used as a workout station. In contrast, Makigiarvik, a facility that holds minimum-security inmates, receives more programming according to participants. It would seem that this discrepancy of resources exists between facilities because inmates in BCC are viewed as too difficult to rehabilitate whereas inmates in Makigiarvik are more likely to attend and complete programming. This situation exemplifies Bonta and Andrews' (2007) assessment - that focusing resources on lower risk offenders is common practice across institutions because low risk offenders are more cooperative (p. 9).

The need principle targets the treatment of criminogenic needs (Andrews & Bonta, 1998) "which are dynamic risk factors that are directly linked to criminal behaviour" (Bonta & Andrews, 2007). This principle distinguishes between criminogenic (major needs) and non-criminogenic (minor needs) to determine which needs should be attended to. Zinger (2004) refers to a number of criminogenic needs where interventions can have a significant impact on recidivism such as poor employment history, lack of healthy family and community ties, lower level of education achievements, lower labour skills, substance abuse, and peers who are engaged in criminal activity. These interventions must be specific to the criminogenic needs. For



example, Zinger (2004) argues that “for offenders whose criminal history is associated with substance abuse, the probability of reoffending remains high if the abuse is not addressed” (p. 609). Examples of non-criminogenic needs include self-esteem, vague feelings of personal distress, and physical health (Bonta & Andrews, 2007, p. 6). The data from this study speak to the prioritizing of the need principle by participants – although they did not distinguish between criminogenic and non-criminogenic needs, they emphasized rehabilitative programming that attended specifically to the individual needs of inmates.

Bonta and Andrews (2007) explain that the risk principle speaks to *who* should be treated, the need principle speaks to *what* should be treated, while the responsivity principle determines *how* an inmate should receive treatment (p. 11). This third principle takes into consideration the learning styles, abilities, and strengths of inmates (Andrews et al., 2006; Bonta & Andrews, 2007; see also Duwe & Clark, 2016). In Chapter 2, it was noted that many Inuit inmates are grouped into Indigenous rehabilitation programs that are exclusively based upon First Nations culture, an approach which is completely foreign to their Inuit culture and way of life. Bonta and Andrews (2007) state that, according to quantitative research, if treatment does not adhere to any of the three principles of RNR, the treatment can actually be criminogenic (p. 12). Therefore, Inuit inmates receiving programming that does not take into account the risk and/or need and/or responsivity principles may increase the likelihood of recidivism. Given the challenges that have been identified around rehabilitative programming with respect to the Division of Corrections in Nunavut, the RNR model provides an important framework for reimagining how rehabilitative programming at BCC and Makigiavik could be improved. As such, BCC as a maximum security facility would be identified as a priority for rehabilitative programming (risk principle). Further, the classification of an inmate’s needs as criminogenic or

non-criminogenic (need principle) and a consideration of the types of programming that would be most appropriate (responsivity principle) would guide the conceptualization, development and delivery of programming at both BCC and Makigiavik. This is not to say that a model such as the RNR, can be easily adopted without considering the cultural contexts involved. Zinger (2004) explains that actuarial tools could discriminate against specific sub-groups such as women, Indigenous people, members of racialized communities, and mental health groups and “the fact that a scale has been found to have predictive accuracy for these sub-groups does not speak to the issue of whether or not the scale contributes to direct, or systemic discrimination (p. 10). The LSI has been revised to no longer include age and gender so that it can avoid concerns of discrimination (Zinger, 2004), and the LSI-OR (Ontario Revised) was introduced to better capture the context of Ontario inmates (Wormith, 1997). However, Jeffrey Ewert, a Metis man who served more than 30 years in prison first challenged the psychological tests in an internal prison process in 2000 by stating that the tests were biased against Indigenous inmates (Fine, 2018). In 2018, the Supreme Court stated that the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC) “had long been aware of concerns regarding the possibility of these tools exhibiting cultural bias yet took no action to confirm their validity and continued to use them in respect to Indigenous offenders” (Ewert v. Canada, 2018). The Court ruled that CSC failed to meet its obligations under s. 24(1) of the Corrections and Conditional Release Act (1992) which states that “the Service shall take all reasonable steps to ensure that any information about an offender that it uses is as accurate, up to date and complete as possible” (c. 20). With this Supreme court case in mind, even after the revisions the LSI has undertaken to address discriminatory concerns, if Nunavut were to consider a model such as the RNR, it would need to use actuarial tools that are designed and validated within the cultural context of Inuit inmates.

## **Chapter Eight: Concluding Remarks**

Chapter 7 analyzed the lack of training for correctional staff, the lack of research on rehabilitation programs, the disconnect between organizational leaders and staff, the cultural and generational differences that exist amongst Inuit that have implications for rehabilitation programming, and the importance of the RNR model for improving rehabilitative programming in Nunavut Corrections. As noted, although these themes appear to depart from the initial focus of the research questions, they provide an important backdrop for understanding participants' perceptions about the state of rehabilitation and reintegration programs within the Division of Corrections in Nunavut. When support systems such as the setup and procedures of the facilities, adequate training, good inmate-staff communication, and trust between management and correctional officers are viewed as lacking, it presents a challenging context in which to focus on the inmates, and consider how a model – like the RNR principles – can be used to conceptualize, develop and implement successful rehabilitation programming. Furthermore, this research aligns with the guiding principles made in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015b) report, most particularly, the fourth principle which states that “reconciliation requires constructive action on addressing the ongoing legacies of colonialism that have had destructive impacts on Aboriginal peoples’ education, cultures and languages, health, child welfare, the administration of justice, and economic opportunities and prosperity” (p. 125). All of these destructive impacts relate to Nunavummiut and they must be addressed so that incarceration and recidivism rates for Inuit be reduced. Additionally, item 50 in the Calls to Action report supports the importance of attending to the conditions at BCC, and Nunavut Corrections as a whole:

In keeping with the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, we call upon the federal government, in collaboration with Aboriginal organizations, to fund the establishment of Indigenous law institutes for the development, use, and understanding of Indigenous laws and access to justice in accordance with the unique

cultures of Aboriginal peoples in Canada (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a, p. 5-6).

Although the intention was to foreground the perspectives of Inuit inmates within Nunavut, because that was not possible, the attention was shifted to interviewing seven correctional officers who have worked in Nunavut Corrections within the last two years and three officials who have worked in the Government of Nunavut, including the Department of Justice. These participants shared their perceptions of the rehabilitation programs offered in Nunavut's correctional facilities, and discussed whether, how, and to what extent they felt the programs met the needs of inmates. Another dimension of my qualitative data gathering consisted of participant observation, in that I spent two weeks in Iqaluit where I interacted with people in the community and amassed copious field notes and analytic memos. Further, my prior two years of working as a correctional officer within Nunavut Corrections provided an important frame of reference that informed my understandings of the data. In these ways I was able to attain a deeper understanding of the perceptions and experiences of participants with respect to inmate rehabilitation, reintegration, and cultures.

As noted in the findings (Chapters 4-6), correctional officers felt that they were unprepared and had to learn the job on their own because of the lack of training. They also explained that inmate-staff communication was very poor and felt that the lack of training and poor management contributed to this. Overall, BCC received the most negative reviews with respect to inmate behaviour, the physical state of the facility, and its management. Differences between inmates' communities and generations were also discussed by participants. Inconsistencies in the facilities as well as differences in languages and cultures among inmates and staff were viewed as reasons why inmate-staff communication was poor. Overall, programming was seen as inadequate and not attending to the specific needs of the inmates.

Programming at BCC was viewed as close to nonexistent. Participants also discussed the high recidivism rates, often referred to as a “revolving door,” and attributed this phenomenon to the inadequate programming inside *and* outside the facilities. Officials recommended that more resources for assistance outside the facilities be provided, noting how individuals in remote communities get very little assistance. Participants presented a number of challenges that interact with each other and contribute to the situations of Inuit inmates. These challenges include the historical effects of colonization, food insecurity, issues around mental health, and cultural divides (between correctional officers and inmates, and among the inmates themselves). Given these challenges, along with the various themes discussed in this chapter, there is not a simple solution for addressing rehabilitation within the correctional facilities or reintegration programs to prepare inmates for life outside the facilities. Adding to the complexities of these challenges is the call from Nunavut officials for all departments to work together to rehabilitate individuals before, during, and after incarceration. With new Cabinet members elected in the Fall of 2017, including a new Minister of Justice, there is an opportunity for the Government of Nunavut to improve on the rehabilitation strategies for inmates and Nunavummiut outside the correctional facilities.

The recommendation made by participants to have rehabilitation and reintegration programming be individually-driven comes with some implications. Satisfying the specific needs of each inmate may require an overwhelming number of resources and tools that could be impractical. However, the individually-driven approach is not about attending to every single need, rather, it is about attending to the most common and most important needs for inmates. The identification of needs can be ascertained by listening closely to the voices of inmates, and then program facilitators, correctional staff, and the research that explores the impact of specific

programs. Although there is a possibility that many inmates do not know what their needs are or how to articulate those needs, it is imperative that their voices are heard, valued, and considered with the perspectives of others within Corrections since it is the inmates' specific needs that are being explored. The Department of Justice should also consider an assessment and rehabilitation model such as the RNR so that there is a framework in place to guide the work that is done around rehabilitative programming. Any framework that is considered needs to be approached with caution, and needs to consider the issue of actuarial tools as discriminatory – any framework used must be designed and validated with Inuit cultures in mind. Further, the Principles of Truth and Reconciliation *and* Calls to Action reports should be used to guide efforts to improve the assessment, rehabilitation, and reintegration of Inuit inmates.

#### Limitations and Directions for Further Research

Despite the practical contributions made by this study to the scant literature that exists on Inuit inmates, I acknowledge that limitations exist for this research. The sample size for the interview participants is small, still my participant observations and my experience working in Nunavut together make me confident in the validity and reliability of the findings and analyses. The correctional officers in this study were former employees with the Division of Corrections in Nunavut who had worked there within the last two years, and the majority of these officers had retired within a year of the interview. Since these correctional officers were no longer employed with the Division of Corrections, I believe that they felt uninhibited when speaking with me about their perspectives.

With respect to future research, it is necessary that the voices of Inuit inmates are heard. I recommend that interviews with inmates be done with a translator to get as much rich information as possible from as many inmates as possible. Additionally, the perspectives of

different actors such as program facilitators, correctional officers, and administrative staff within institutions should be considered in future research. Correctional officers interact with inmates considerably longer than any other correctional staff and therefore their perspectives on inmate rehabilitation can provide vastly rich information. Having correctional officers' voices heard may also assist in improving their level of job satisfaction as it could make them feel more valued and connected to management and what is going on within the facilities. The analyses that are forthcoming from such research would be very useful in informing future directions for inmate programming within Corrections, and re-integration programming following release from facilities. Finally, both quantitative and qualitative evaluation research needs to be done to see whether, how, and to what extent existing, and newly-developed programs are taking into account RNR principles, and ultimately attending to the needs of inmates.

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## APPENDIX A

**From:** Kosta Hari Barka  
**Sent:** May 18, 2017 13:03  
**To:** [...]  
**Subject:** Thesis Research

Hello [...],

I hope you are doing well. [...]

As you may recall, when I resigned from BCC I had a vision to return to school. I began my Master's of Criminology at Wilfrid Laurier University this past Fall and recently completed all my courses as part of my first-year requirement. In my second year, I am required to write a thesis on a topic of my choosing.

I began to think about my research topic long before I applied to a Master's program. In fact, I started thinking about it while working in Makigiarvik, a facility that made me appreciate the direction Nunavut Corrections was moving more towards – rehabilitation. [...]. During my two years working in both facilities, and by extension living in Iqaluit, I learned a lot about the Inuit culture, the Inuit inmates, the staff, and Nunavut Corrections. These observations made me want to help, and although I feel like I helped the best I could have within the limits of my position, I wanted to give back more. I believe I am now in a position where I can do that.

In the last eight months, I have given much thought to which area of study I want to focus on. I thought about the difficulties that correctional officers face in BCC and how to best assist them, I thought about the structure of corrections in Nunavut, and I considered institutions that indirectly effect corrections, such as the educational system. Keeping all these considerations in mind, I reviewed the literature on Inuit inmates to see what has been published to date. Although it took some time for me to realize this, the two common themes I found were: 1) the inmates' voices are close to nonexistent in the literature, and 2) there needs to be more Inuit-specific programming in order to adhere to the unique situations of the Inuit inmates. My proposed research will strive to attend to the needs of Inuit inmates by directly listening to them. What I would like to do is to engage in semi-structured interviews with the inmates of Makigiarvik to understand how they feel they have responded to the rehabilitative programming that has been implemented, and to understand what programming they would like to see in the future. I believe that this research will provide new insights about inmates' needs that can be considered in the new larger facility planned to open in 2021. In this way, my research will also have the potential to reduce some strain that Correctional Officers face on the job by helping to ensure that inmates' needs are being met. Please know that all of the information that I would collect during the research would be treated as confidential – that is, the names of any participants, and even the names of the facility if so desired would be anonymized in any forthcoming reports about the research. I am very committed to this line of research, and I plan to enrol in a PhD program after my Master's degree to engage in further research that looks to assist Inuit inmates, Correctional staff in Nunavut, and Nunavut Corrections more broadly.

I will be writing and defending my thesis proposal this summer and then seek ethics approval through the Research Ethics Board at Wilfrid Laurier University. I am not sure who to contact in Nunavut to ask for permission for this project, so I thought you would be the best person for me to ask. You are welcome to forward this email to [...] and/or anyone you think should read it. Know that nothing is final and I am open to changing and discussing the details of my project. For now, I just want to get an idea if this type of research would be supported and who I should talk to about it.

Thank you and I look forward to hearing back from you.

Sincerely,

*Kosta Barka*

**KOSTA BARKA**  
MA Candidate, Department of Criminology

**WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY**  
Office: Grand River Hall 110  
Email: bark1660@mylaurier.ca



## APPENDIX B

**From:** [...]  
**Sent:** May 19, 2017 16:16  
**To:** Kosta Hari Barka  
**Subject:** RE: Thesis Research

**Good afternoon Kosta,**

Great to hear from you and super stoked you're back in school! You are definitely missed, however I'm glad you're putting some of that potential to use.

I've reviewed your intent and have forwarded it on to [...]. Both [...] and I are in full support, and would like to assist in whatever way we can. I just finished speaking to [...] and [...]’s already passed this along to the Director.

I'll let you know as soon as I hear back.

Good luck with everything, and if you're ever in need of anything, just say the word.

Respectfully,

[...]  
[...]

## APPENDIX C

**From:** Kosta Hari Barka  
**Sent:** July 16, 2017 12:40  
**To:** [...]  
**Subject:** Research Intent

Hello [...],

It was great speaking with you on the phone the other day. If you could please pass along the following message to Director [...] during your meeting with him, I would appreciate it. If you can't show it to him (don't have time to print it) then can you please just briefly explain my intent and that my next step is to seek approval by him and Nunavut Corrections? I am not sure if there is an Ethics Board up there I need to go through. I would like to discuss this project over the phone with him and get a sense of what he thinks about it, and how I can proceed.

Thank you, [...]

[...],

I trust that [...] has briefly spoken to you about my research plan.

In short, I want to understand how the inmates of Makigiarvik feel they have responded to the rehabilitative programming that has been implemented, and to understand what programming they would like to see in the future. Programming needs of Inuit inmates has been under-researched and my intention is to make a contribution in this area. This will also hopefully provide new insights about inmates' needs that can be considered with the opening of Qikiqtani Correctional Healing Centre.

I recently wrote a proposal and successfully defended it in front of my Committee Members from Wilfrid Laurier University; they are in full support.

What I require now is to get an understanding if this type of research would be supported by you. What I would like to do is interview inmates and spend some time in the facility. A comprehensive outline of how I plan to gather data will be written (interview guide etc.), and this can of course be adjusted if you have any concerns. Please know that all of the information that I would collect would be treated as confidential – that is, the names of any participants, and even the names of the facility if so desired.

I also intend to provide Nunavut Corrections with a summary of my findings in the end, in addition to my thesis. I would be open to present my findings in front of the inmates and/or staff members.

I would love to hear your thoughts on this project and set up a time to discuss things over the phone. My contact information is below.

Respectfully,

**KOSTA BARKA**  
MA Candidate, Department of Criminology

**WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY**  
Office: Grand River Hall 110  
Email: [bark1660@mylaurier.ca](mailto:bark1660@mylaurier.ca)

## APPENDIX D

**From:** [...]  
**Sent:** July 20, 2017 10:56  
**To:** Kosta Hari Barka  
**Subject:** RE: Research Intent

**Good morning Sir,**

I apologize for the lateness in my response, as well with the result for our meeting.

At the current time, the Division is unable to assist with your efforts and study as we are all already being pulled in multiple directions with various agencies.

I do understand the great lengths you have gone to already in you research and proposal, and it is with great regret I must inform you of the team's decision.

All the best, and I truly hope you are able to complete your goals without our assistance.

Respectfully,

[...]

[...]

*Baffin Correctional Centre  
Nunavut Woman's Correctional Centre*

## APPENDIX E

**From:** Kosta Hari Barka  
**Sent:** August 4, 2017 11:20  
**To:** [...]  
**Subject:** Thesis Research

Dear MLA [...],

My name is Kosta Barka and I am a Criminology Master's student at Wilfrid Laurier University, Brantford, Ontario. I have recently received some unfortunate news regarding my thesis research plans and it was suggested to me that I reach out to you to discuss my situation. Although initial indications were that I might possibly be able to do research that would provide useful information on the rehabilitation needs of Inuit inmates – specifically at Makigiarvik -, I have been advised that this line of research will not be possible, and I am seeking your reconsideration.

My research is inspired by my personal experience living in Iqaluit, Nunavut. I spent two years (February 2014 – December 2015) working as a correctional officer at Baffin Correctional Centre (BCC) and in a dual position as correctional officer and case worker at Makigiarvik Healing Facility. During my two years working in both facilities, and by extension living in Iqaluit, I learned a lot about life in Iqaluit, Inuit culture, Inuit inmates, the staff, and Nunavut Corrections. It became evident to me that help was needed and although I feel like I helped the best I could within the limits of my position, I wanted to give back more.

Since I began my Masters in 2016, I have been conceptualizing my thesis project with a view to having the research be meaningful for Nunavut Corrections and Inuit inmates. My hope was, and still is, that my research would also look to improve life for offenders beyond their time in the correctional system.

What I proposed to Director of Corrections [...], [...], and [...], was as follows:

*My research looks to attend to the needs of Inuit inmates by directly listening to them. What I would like to do is engage in interviews with the inmates of Makigiarvik to understand how they feel they have responded to the rehabilitative programming that has been implemented, and to understand what programming they would like to see in the future. I believe that this research will provide new insights about inmates' needs that can be considered in the new larger facility planned to open in 2021. In this way, my research will also have the potential to reduce some strain that Correctional Officers face on the job by helping to ensure that inmates' needs are being met.*

For further elaboration of my intended research and what I wrote in my initial email, please see below at the email I sent to [...] on May 18<sup>th</sup>, 2017. The following day I received a reply from [...] informing me that he and [...] were in full support and that the email has been forwarded to the Director. You can view this email below as well, dated May 19.

The next two months were spent writing my thesis proposal in which I successfully defended to my committee members on July 13<sup>th</sup>. During these two months, [...] and I kept in touch but

neither of us heard back from the Department regarding my intent. On July 14<sup>th</sup>, the day after my defence, I called [...] and he assured me that he would bring up my proposed research in a meeting he was scheduled to have with Director [...] on July 17. We agreed I send him an email that he can show to [...] at the meeting. This email can be seen below, sent July 16<sup>th</sup>.

On July 20<sup>th</sup>, I received an email from [...] informing me that the Division is unable to assist me with my research. This email can also be seen below.

In addition to working at BCC and Makigiarvik, my knowledge of the literature regarding Inuit inmates has furthered my passionate about pursuing this research, as scholarship on Inuit inmates is scarce.

I am reaching out to you because I would like to know what you think about my research plan and I am seeking your advice as to how I might change my approach so that I can pursue this line of research. If I cannot gain access to the inmates, I would like to know if it is possible to access the inmate files to conduct a file review that would be informative for the Government of Nunavut. Alternatively, I am wondering if you are aware of research needs in my areas of interest that are priorities for the Government of Nunavut to which I would be able to contribute.

Thank you very much in advance for your consideration. If it would be easiest to discuss research possibilities by phone, I would welcome a phone meeting with you and my supervisor Dr. Debra Langan to talk about alternative plans for my research. I look forward to hearing back from you at your earliest convenience.

Respectfully,

**KOSTA BARKA**

MA Candidate, Department of Criminology

**WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY**

Office: Grand River Hall 110

Email: [bark1660@mylaurier.ca](mailto:bark1660@mylaurier.ca)

## APPENDIX F

**From:** [...]  
**Sent:** September 6, 2017 15:59  
**To:** bark1660@mylaurier.ca  
**Subject:** Thesis

Hi Kosta, I have made inquiries and I still don't have answers and so I am not putting to paper my questions on why your request was denied to the Minister of Justice. I hope he replies soon, I will also go and see him in person...I have not been told yet what the real reason is for denying your request. I did hear that it would take staff to help you, privacy issues and so on...but I think all of that can be worked out and so I am not satisfied that those are enough of a reason to say no to you. Our recidivism rates are the highest in Canada and I believe we should do all we can to bring the numbers down....families and communities will be that much better off if we can address some of the issues such as high levels of violence in Nunavut homes ...families separated by incarceration and so on...

[...]

**From:** [...]  
**Sent:** September 6, 2017 16:13  
**To:** [...]  
**Cc:** [...]  
**Subject:** FW: Thesis Research

Dear [...],

Please find below a message I received from Kosta Barka, regarding his request to interview inmates as a part of his research on the rehabilitation of Inuit inmates. You will note in the messages further below that Mr. Barka did receive initial support for his research from officials at your Department's Corrections Division. However, most recently, Mr. Barka was informed that the Corrections Division is unable to assist Mr. Barka with his research at this time.

I am writing to you to ask if you have had the opportunity to review Mr. Barka's request yourself. It is my understanding that the Government of Nunavut has, in the past, supported students pursuing academic research in fields that relate to important issues facing Nunavummiut. In my view, Nunavut's corrections service has much to benefit from research related to the rehabilitation of Nunavummiut, specifically Inuit. As you have noted in the House on a number of occasions, it is important that we focus on defining rehabilitation for Nunavut. The closer we can get to understanding this concept and how it relates to the specific needs of Inuit, the sooner we can begin to develop and deliver programs that produce more self-sufficient residents and, with all hope, lower rates of recidivism in our correctional centres. Given that Mr. Barka has demonstrated a strong interest in the subject matter and a passion for pursuing this area of research, I believe it could be beneficial for your department to support Mr. Barka's efforts.

I recognize the importance of protecting the privacy of all Nunavummiut. However, perhaps the Corrections Division can assist Mr. Barka in advertising his research to inmates who may wish to volunteer their time for interviews. Given the dire need to reduce the rate at which offenders are re-offending in Nunavut, I encourage you and your officials to explore methods that would allow Nunavut's Corrections division and Mr. Barka to work together in on this issue.

Thanks in advance for your consideration of the request...

[...]

## APPENDIX G

**From:** [...]  
**Sent:** September 13, 2017 10:54  
**To:** [...]  
**Cc:** [...]  
**Subject:** FW: Thesis Research

Hi [...], I am wondering if you are going to make a reply to my email below? I think that this particular research will go towards helping the GN to find out and learn more about why we have such high rates of offenders re-offending....

[...]

**From:** Peterson, Keith  
**Sent:** September 13, 2017 13:02  
**To:** [...]  
**Cc:** [...]  
**Subject:** Re: Thesis Research

Hi [...],  
I believe the formal process requires the individual to apply to the NRI for a permit and then they contact the DM to discuss. I presume they would have all this information and it has been approved by the head of their university department?

My concern is our staff are all very busy working on our department programs and services. It would be difficult to task any of them to devote hours if not days to help a student who is working on a thesis for their personal benefit. There could also be privacy concerns for inmates and staff.

Thanks  
[...]

## APPENDIX H

**From:** [...]  
**Sent:** November 3, 2017 15:11  
**To:** bark1660@mylaurier.ca  
**Subject:** Application Rejected

Good Day Mr. Barka,

On October 12, 2017, I received your application for a research license titled : Attending the Needs of Inuit Inmates: Listening to Forgotten Voices.

The project proposal sent was under a Social Science & Traditional Knowledge application package. After reviewing the application form and supporting documents, I sent it to the Health Research Review panel given the sensitivity of the subject, and included Mr. [...], Director of Corrections, with The Government of Nunavut.

I have attached a review from Dr. Gwen Healey, of Qaujigiartiit Health Research Centre.

As you will see, she has recommended a rejection of the project proposal. Another member of the review panel, Mr. [...], Director of Corrections, voiced similar concerns into your proposal and also recommended a rejection.

I will be sending the review to the Research Ethics Board of your University. Our Senior Science Advisor, as well as the members of the review panel, are quite disappointed (and surprised) in the lack of ethical considerations.

We strongly urge you and your Research Ethics Board, to properly consider the ethical issues of working with vulnerable inmates here at the Baffin Correctional Centre, and the Makigliarvik Correctional Centre, as well as working with Mr. [...], Director of Correction with the Government of Nunavut to come into an agreement, on how to best approach your proposed work.

Regards,

[...]  
[...]  
Nunavut Research Institute  
PO Box 1720  
Iqaluit, Nunavut  
X0A 1H0



## APPENDIX I

### Interview Guide for Correctional Officers

Before we begin, please feel free to let me know if you have any questions or concerns regarding this interview, your participation, and the research project. I'd like to remind you that the audio recorder can be turned off at anytime – just let me know if you want me to turn it off.

#### **Introductory Questions**

*(The first part of this interview is to get to know the participant and to get an idea of what is important to him or her):*

- 1) Can you please tell me a little bit about yourself and your background as a correctional officer? What made you decide to pursue this position in Nunavut?
- 2) How would you describe the occupational culture of correctional work in Nunavut? Have you worked in a correctional facility outside of Nunavut? What was that like compared to Nunavut?

#### **General Assessment of What Takes Place in the Facility**

*(The next part of this interview will consist of questions relating to the participant's perspectives and understandings of what is going on in the facility):*

- 3) How do you view inmate behaviour in the facility? How do they behave towards one another compared to how they behave with the staff? Can you give me some examples?
- 4) How do you view staff behaviour in the facility?
- 5) How do you feel about the setup of the building and its procedures?
- 6) What do you think about the communication between staff and inmates? Please explain.

#### **View on Rehabilitation in Nunavut Corrections**

*(I'd now like to get an understanding of the participant's perspective on rehabilitation programs):*

- 7) How would you define "rehabilitation"?
- 8) Do you think the programs in the facility help rehabilitate inmates? Please explain.
- 9) Do you think that rehabilitation programs are sensitive to the Inuit culture? Please explain.

#### **Culturally specific programming**

*(Now, I would like to talk about the role of Inuit culture in rehabilitative programs):*

- 10) Do you feel Inuit cultural beliefs and practices are included in rehabilitation programs within Nunavut Corrections? Please explain.
- 11) Do you think rehabilitation programs need to implement more Inuit cultural values and practices? Please explain.
- 12) How do the people running the programs understand Inuit culture? Please explain. How do you think this affected their experience in the program?
- 13) What recommendations would you make for programs to better meet the needs of Inuit inmates?

## APPENDIX J

### Interview Guide for Officials

Before we begin, please feel free to let me know if you have any questions or concerns regarding this interview, your participation, and the research project. I'd like to remind you that the audio recorder can be turned off at anytime – just let me know if you want me to turn it off.

#### **Introductory Questions**

*(The first part of this interview is to get to know the participant and the organization they represent):*

- 1) Can you please tell me a little bit about the organization and your position at this organization?
- 2) Can you please tell me about the goals and objectives of this organization? How would you describe the efforts made to achieve these goals and objectives?

#### **View on Rehabilitation in Nunavut Corrections**

*(I'd now like to get an understanding of the participant's perspective on rehabilitation programs):*

- 3) How would you define “rehabilitation”?
- 4) Do you think the programs in the facility help to rehabilitate inmates? Please explain.
- 5) To what extent do you think that Inuit culture has been attended to in the *development* of rehabilitation programs for Inuit inmates? Please explain.
- 6) In terms of the *delivery* of these programs within the institution, how have correctional centre staff responded to the call for culturally specific programming? Have there been challenges in implementing this kind of programming within the institution? Have there been successes, in your opinion. Please explain.
- 7) How have inmates responded to culturally specific programming, in your opinion?
- 8) Do you think rehabilitation programs need to implement more Inuit cultural values and practices? Please explain.
- 9) What recommendations would *you* make for programs to meet the needs of Inuit inmates?

## APPENDIX K

### WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY

#### PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM FOR NUNAVUT CORRECTIONAL OFFICERS

##### ATTENDING TO THE NEEDS OF INUIT INMATES

Principal Investigator: Kosta Hari Barka

You are invited to participate in a research study which seeks to understand the perceptions that Nunavut correctional officers and Nunavut officials each have on the rehabilitation programs offered in Nunavut's correctional facilities. This study is being conducted by Graduate student Kosta Barka under the supervision of Dr. Debra Langan from Wilfrid Laurier University's Department of Criminology in Brantford, Ontario.

##### Information

My research seeks to explore the perceptions that Nunavut correctional officers and Nunavut officials each have on the rehabilitation programs offered in Nunavut's correctional facilities to understand whether, how, and to what extent you feel the programs meet the needs of inmates. I will be conducting 10-15 interviews in total. In order to understand your views as a correctional officer, I will aim to conduct half of the interviews with correctional officers, while the other half be with Nunavut officials. Should you volunteer to take part in this research, you will be invited to participate in an interview at a place and time of your choosing. The interview will last approximately 15 to 60 minutes or until you no longer want to continue. During this time, you will be asked about your experiences and ideas of the rehabilitation services within the facility you are working in and any other correctional facilities you have worked within Nunavut. You will be asked for permission to have a password-protected digital voice recorder record the discussion so that I can listen to your responses more accurately at a later time. If you do not wish to be digitally recorded, you may still participate in the interview and I will make notes of what is being said.

This research project was developed through an invested interest in correctional rehabilitation services for Inuit inmates based on the researcher's work experience with Nunavut corrections. The project is intended to be used for as part of the degree requirements for the master of arts in criminology program at Wilfrid Laurier University as well as future publications and conferences.

##### Potential Risks or Discomforts

There are no physical risks to participating in this study. There is the potential that you may feel that the information you have shared with me may impact your reputation at work if you criticize or provide a negative review of the organization. The researcher takes *very* seriously the importance of ensuring that what is said during an interview or a discussion group be treated as confidential. If at any time during the interview or a discussion group you do not wish to answer a question, you are free to not answer the question. You may also withdraw from the study if you wish, at any time, for any reason, without any explanation, and there is no consequence to withdrawing from the study. If you withdraw from the study, every attempt will be made to delete all information and personal responses that you provided to the researcher.

##### Potential Benefits

You may benefit from being given the opportunity to express your views and opinions on the rehabilitation services within the facility you are working in and any other correctional facilities you have worked within Nunavut. Further, at your request, you will be provided with a final copy of the written report that will consist of a thematic presentation of the aggregated data. My hope is that understanding how correctional officers view rehabilitation services in Nunavut corrections will help disseminate knowledge on Inuit rehabilitation programming.

### Confidentiality

Participation is completely voluntary, and information that you provide for the purposes of this study will be kept strictly confidential and used solely for the purposes of the research. Interview data will be digitally recorded and transcribed on a word document for later analysis by myself. I will be assigning a number to each recording rather than your name, and all of your responses will be held in strict confidence. The interview recordings and transcripts will be kept separately from the consent forms. In order to ensure confidentiality in the transcripts of the audio recording and the written record of the interview, a pseudonym will be used in place of your real name and any identifying names, places, speech patterns, or specific events will be altered to protect your identity. All electronic material will be stored in password-protected files on a secure computer, and paper documents will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in my office. In writing up the research, I may wish to use direct quotes from your interview. If you do not wish to have your exact words quoted (with anonymity maintained), you may decline below and still participate in the research. You will also have the opportunity to view your transcript and adjust what was said, if you wish. I will be the only person to have access to the signed consent forms and the audio recordings. All data (recordings, transcripts, and consent forms) will be permanently deleted at the end of the study.

### Contact

If you have questions at any time about the study or the procedures, you may contact me at 1(647)226-3212 or [bark1660@mylaurier.ca](mailto:bark1660@mylaurier.ca). If you have concerns or questions about your rights as a participant or about the way the study is conducted, you may contact Dr. Robert Basso, Chair, University Research Ethics Board, Wilfrid Laurier University Research 1(519) 884-1970 ext. 4994 or [rbasso@wlu.ca](mailto:rbasso@wlu.ca) (REB # 5490).

Please feel free to ask any questions that you may have about this research. If you wish to participate in this study, please sign the following statement of consent: (Two copies will be signed; one for the researcher's files and one for you to keep)

### Statement of informant rights

*I, (print name) \_\_\_\_\_ have been fully informed of the objectives of the project being conducted. I understand these objectives and consent to being interviewed for the project. I understand that steps will be undertaken to ensure that this interview will remain confidential unless I consent to being identified. I also understand that, if I wish to withdraw from the study, I may do so without any repercussions.*

I agree to have the interview digitally recorded. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

I understand that I can request to review the interview transcript and add, delete, or modify it to ensure accuracy and comfort level. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

I agree that direct, anonymous quotes may be used from my interview transcript in the final report. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

Following our interview, I would like an opportunity to review my interview transcript and add or delete information to ensure accuracy and comfort level. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

Participant's signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Researcher's signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX L

### WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY

#### PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM FOR NUNAVUT OFFICIALS

##### ATTENDING TO THE NEEDS OF INUIT INMATES

Principal Investigator: Kosta Hari Barka

You are invited to participate in a research study which seeks to understand the perceptions that Nunavut correctional officers and Nunavut officials each have on the rehabilitation programs offered in Nunavut's correctional facilities. This study is being conducted by Graduate student Kosta Barka under the supervision of Dr. Debra Langan from Wilfrid Laurier University's Department of Criminology in Brantford, Ontario.

##### Information

My research seeks to explore the perceptions that Nunavut correctional officers and Nunavut officials each have on the rehabilitation programs offered in Nunavut's correctional facilities to understand whether, how, and to what extent you feel the programs meet the needs of inmates. I will be conducting 10-15 interviews in total. In order to understand your views as a Nunavut official, I will aim to conduct half of the interviews with officials, while the other half will be with correctional officers. Should you volunteer to take part in this research, you will be invited to participate in an interview at a place and time of your choosing. The interview will last approximately 15 to 60 minutes or until you no longer want to continue. During this time, you will be asked about your experiences and ideas of Nunavut Corrections rehabilitation programs. You will be asked for permission to have a password-protected digital voice recorder record the discussion so that I can listen to your responses more accurately at a later time. If you do not wish to be digitally recorded, you may still participate in the interview and I will make notes of what is being said.

This research project was developed through an invested interest in correctional rehabilitation services for Inuit inmates based on the researcher's work experience with Nunavut corrections. The project is intended to be used for as part of the degree requirements for the master of arts in criminology program at Wilfrid Laurier University as well as future publications and conferences.

##### Potential Risks or Discomforts

There are no physical risks to participating in this study. There is the potential that you may feel that the information you have shared with me may impact your reputation at work if you criticize or provide a negative review of the organization. The researcher takes *very* seriously the importance of ensuring that what is said during an interview or a discussion group be treated as confidential. If at any time during the interview or a discussion group you do not wish to answer a question, you are free to not answer the question. You may also withdraw from the study if you wish, at any time, for any reason, without any explanation, and there is no consequence to withdrawing from the study. If you withdraw from the study, every attempt will be made to delete all information and personal responses that you provided to the researcher.

##### Potential Benefits

You may benefit from being given the opportunity to express your views and opinions on the rehabilitation programs. Further, at your request, you will be provided with a final copy of the written report that will consist of a thematic presentation of the aggregated data. My hope is that understanding how officials view rehabilitation services in Nunavut corrections will help disseminate knowledge on Inuit rehabilitation programming.

##### Confidentiality

Participation is completely voluntary, and information that you provide for the purposes of this study will be kept strictly confidential and used solely for the purposes of the research. Interview data will be digitally recorded and transcribed on a word document for later analysis by myself. I will be assigning a number to each recording rather than your name, and all of your responses will be held in strict confidence. The interview recordings and transcripts will be kept separately from the consent forms. In order to ensure confidentiality in the transcripts of the audio recording and the written record of the interview, a pseudonym will be used in place of your real name and any identifying names, places, speech patterns, or specific events will be altered to protect your identity. All electronic material will be stored in password-protected files on a secure computer, and paper documents will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in my office. In writing up the research, I may wish to use direct quotes from your interview. If you do not wish to have your exact words quoted (with anonymity maintained), you may decline below and still participate in the research. You will also have the opportunity to view your transcript and adjust what was said, if you wish. I will be the only person to have access to the signed consent forms and the audio recordings. All data (recordings, transcripts, and consent forms) will be permanently deleted at the end of the study.

### Contact

If you have questions at any time about the study or the procedures, you may contact me at 1(647)226-3212 or [bark1660@mylaurier.ca](mailto:bark1660@mylaurier.ca). If you have concerns or questions about your rights as a participant or about the way the study is conducted, you may contact Dr. Robert Basso, Chair, University Research Ethics Board, Wilfrid Laurier University Research 1(519) 884-1970 ext. 4994 or [rbasso@wlu.ca](mailto:rbasso@wlu.ca) (REB # 5490).

Please feel free to ask any questions that you may have about this research. If you wish to participate in this study, please sign the following statement of consent: (Two copies will be signed; one for the researcher's files and one for you to keep)

### Statement of informant rights

*I, (print name) \_\_\_\_\_ have been fully informed of the objectives of the project being conducted. I understand these objectives and consent to being interviewed for the project. I understand that steps will be undertaken to ensure that this interview will remain confidential unless I consent to being identified. I also understand that, if I wish to withdraw from the study, I may do so without any repercussions.*

I agree to have the interview digitally recorded. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

I understand that I can request to review the interview transcript and add, delete, or modify it to ensure accuracy and comfort level. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

I agree that direct, anonymous quotes may be used from my interview transcript in the final report. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

Following our interview, I would like an opportunity to review my interview transcript and add or delete information to ensure accuracy and comfort level. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

Participant's signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Researcher's signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX M: Ethics approval on modification *and* initial intent

December 12, 2017

Dear Kosta,

REB # 5490

Project, "Attending to The Needs of Inuit Inmates: Listening to Forgotten Voices"

REB Clearance Issued: October 30, 2017

**Expiry / End Date: January 31, 2020**

I have reviewed the changes (Changing participant group from inmates to correctional Nunavut correctional officers and Nunavut officials; interviews will take place in Iqaluit, Nunavut; recruitment via e-mail or phone; two new questionnaires, one for interviewing Correctional Officers another for interviewing Nunavut Officials; revised application form for new participant group; new consent forms to reflect the two participant groups) to the above proposal and determined that they are ethically sound.

If the research plan and methods should change in a way that may bring into question the project's adherence to acceptable ethical norms, please contact me as soon as possible and before the changes are put in place.

(This letter has been issued on behalf of Dr. R. Basso, by Courtney Lunt, Research Compliance Officer.)

(Useful links: [ROMEO Login Screen](#) ; [REB Students Webpage](#); [REB Connect Webpage](#))

Yours sincerely,



Robert Basso, PhD  
Chair, University Research Ethics Board  
Wilfrid Laurier University

October 30, 2017

Dear Kosta Barka

REB # 5490

Project, "Attending to The Needs of Inuit Inmates: Listening to Forgotten Voices"

REB Clearance Issued: October 30, 2017

**REB Expiry / End Date: January 31, 2018**

The Research Ethics Board of Wilfrid Laurier University has reviewed the above proposal and determined that the proposal is ethically sound. If the research plan and methods should change in a way that may bring into question the project's adherence to acceptable ethical norms, please submit a "Request for Ethics Clearance of a Revision or Modification" form for approval before the changes are put into place. This form can also be used to extend protocols past their expiry date, except in cases where the project is more than four years old. Those projects require a new REB application.

Please note that you are responsible for obtaining any further approvals that might be required to complete your project.

Laurier REB approval will automatically expire when one's employment ends at Laurier.

If any participants in your research project have a negative experience (either physical, psychological or emotional) you are required to submit an "Adverse Events Form" within 24 hours of the event.

You must complete the online "Annual/Final Progress Report on Human Research Projects" form annually and upon completion of the project. ROMEO will automatically keep track of these annual reports for you. When you have a report due within 30 days (and/or an overdue report) it will be listed under the 'My Reminders' quick link on your ROMEO home screen; the number in brackets next to 'My Reminders' will tell you how many reports need to be submitted. Protocols with overdue annual reports will be marked as expired. Further the REB has been requested to notify Research Finance when an REB protocol, tied to a funding account has been marked as expired. In such cases Research Finance will immediately freeze funding tied to this account.

All the best for the successful completion of your project.

(Useful links: [ROMEO Login Screen](#) ; [REB Students Webpage](#); [REB Connect Webpage](#))

Yours sincerely,



Robert Basso, PhD  
Chair, University Research Ethics Board  
Wilfrid Laurier University